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STUDIES IN JEWISH LITURGY

BASED ON A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT ENTITLED

SEDER HIBBUR BERAKOT

IN TWO PARTS

BY

ABRAHAM I. SCHECHTER, PH. D.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING

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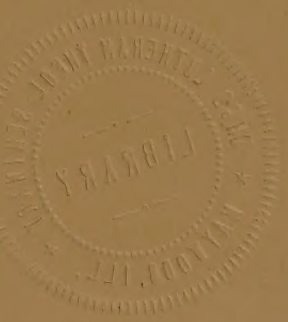

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TO MY DEAR WIFE

PREFACE

It is difficult to work in a field which has been explored only by a few. But still more difficult is it to delve in a field which has been overworked to the point of exhaustion. Jewish liturgy is such a field. A great number of valuable works have been published in recent years on the history of Jewish liturgy. Elbogen has incorporated the most important material accessible to him in his book *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung*, Berlin 1913, and yet the sources of Jewish liturgy are far from being completely exhausted. In spite of all the valuable work already done in this department of literature many points still remain without illumination. Thus we are still uncertain about the date and aim of the Kerobot interpolations in the 'Amidah and about the origin of the Kedushah in the daily Yoẓerot. We face especially difficult problems when we begin to investigate the text of the 'Amidah. The Genizah, it is true, has rendered signal service through its numerous liturgical texts, but with all that a good deal of work remains to be done. Hence every effort tending to shed light on obscure spots in the Jewish liturgy must be welcome, especially where Palestinian sources are involved. For after all Palestine is the cradle of our most ancient prayers, the land of the Haggadah, the Midrash and the old Piyyut, where one harks back to the God-praising tunes of antiquity. Every ray of light cast on the original Palestinian ritual helps to elucidate the liturgy as a whole. But where are the remnants of the old Palestinian rite and where can its traces be found? The following work aims to contribute somewhat to the solution of this difficult problem.

I have tried to make this discussion accessible to laymen, though it is directed primarily to scholars, who will be in a

position to discern where I follow my own way, and where I depend upon others.

I desire to express my warm thanks to Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Dropsie College, for his kindness and courtesy manifested to me on more than one occasion. I also wish to thank Prof. Israel Davidson and Prof. Alexander Marx of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, who helped me in various ways in connection with my work. I am further indebted for help and advice to the late Professors H. Malter and B. Halper. Also to Dr. J. Reider of Dropsie College, and Mr. A. Dembitz of Gratz College, Philadelphia. And last, I wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to my wife, for the inspiration and helpful suggestions she has given me during the progress of this work.

ABRAHAM I. SCHECHTER

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface v

PART I

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter

I. The Manuscript of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot 4
II. Earlier Authorities and the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot 4
III. Modern Scholars and the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot 5
a. Leopold Zunz (p. 6)
b. Abraham Berliner (p. 9)
c. Alexander Marx (p. 11)
IV. The Author of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot 12
V. The Seder Ḥibbur Berakot and the Midrash Sekel Tob ... 15
VI. Spiritual Relationship between Palestine and Babylon during the Geonic Period 21
VII. Spiritual Relationship between Italy and Palestine 26
VIII. Synagogual Rivalry between Italy and Babylon 33
IX. Spiritual Relationship between Spain and Babylon 40
X. Criteria for the Palestinian Rite 50
XI. Babylonian Elements in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot 64
XII. Menaḥem b. Solomon, First Compiler of the Italian Ritual 70
XIII. The Piyyutim in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot 71
XIV. Orthography and Style of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot 75
XV. The Life and Time of Menaḥem b. Solomon 78

PART II

TEXTS AND NOTES

INTRODUCTION 83

Prefatory Notes 84
1. Morning Prayers
2. 'Amidah
3. Ma'arib
4. Sabbath Morning
5. Night Prayer

TEXTS AND NOTES

I. The Benediction on Studying the Torah 87
II. 'Elohay Neshamah' 88
III. Morning Benedictions 88
IV. Short 'Amidah 91
V. Grace After Meals 92

Facsimile of the Short 'Amidah 95
VI–VIII. The Short 'Amidot 97
VIII–XII. The Kerobot 99
XIII. Ma'arib for Week-days 105
XIV. Night Prayer 106
XV. Friday Evening 109
XVI. Short Grace After Meals 113
XVII. 'Amidah for the Sabbath Minḥah 114
XVIII. Elijah-Song 115
XIX. Habdalah 118
XX. Parshat Parah 118
XXI. Prayer for Dew 121
XXII. The Last Part of Saadia Gaon's Azharot 124
Facsimiles 126
List of Abbreviations 131
Alphabetical List of Texts 132
Index 135

INTRODUCTION

In 1894 the library of Turin, Italy, with all its treasures in books and manuscripts, was destroyed by fire. Among the manuscripts was one containing a complete collection of Hebrew prayers, laws and customs and liturgical compositions (piyyutim) arranged in accordance with an old Ritual, the origin and nature of which had never been sufficiently investigated. Its title was סדר חבור ברכות i. e. "Order of a Collection of Benedictions," and its compiler unnamed. Long before the conflagration took place the contents of the library had been repeatedly catalogued, the last time by Bernh. Peyron, Turin, 1880, who gave a full description of the various works and who to-day is the chief source of our knowledge about the contents once harbored in that library. From the Jewish side Zunz and later Berliner had made a study of the Hebrew manuscripts in connection with their labors in the field of Hebrew literature, particularly in that of Jewish liturgy. Naturally the Ritual-Order came under their purview and some references to it are found in Zunz's famous work "Die synagogale Poesie der Juden" (1865). Berliner's enthusiastic description of the Ritual induced the late Prof. Solomon Schechter, while in Italy, to submit its contents to a thorough examination and, realizing its value at a glance, he copied the entire manuscript (261 folio leaves, about 200 in his own handwriting) for further study and eventual publication. He also had photographs made of a number of piyyutim, which, he thought, occurred only in that Ritual, so as to be able to produce facsimiles of the original script. It is due to Dr. Schechter's labors that the Ritual was saved from destruction. His copy, the only one in existence, as well as the aforementioned photographs, are now among the manuscripts of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

When in Zurich, Switzerland, I had been engaged in cataloguing the large number of Hebrew MSS. of the Zuricher Zentralbibliothek (University and State Library) at the instance of the Board of Governors of the Library; I had especially interested myself in the manuscripts of prayer manuals, and felt a strong desire to specialize in the field of liturgy. Thus, when Professor Israel Davidson of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, suggested to me the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot as an excellent subject for liturgical research, I gladly undertook this work, with the idea of making a thorough investigation of the manuscript as to its origin and authorship, as well as its historical and liturgical significance. The results of my investigation I present in this treatise.

Attention is to be called first to the fact that there is no reference to this Ritual in any of the writings of the mediæval authors, and that Zunz was the first to make use of it and to suggest (on the basis of an acrostic which he discovered in the MS.) that its compiler was a certain "Menaḥem (b. Solomon?)." Taking up the suggestion of Zunz, I made a thorough search in the extant works of Menaḥem ben Solomon the author of Midrash שכל טוב, which book revealed numerous parallels to passages occurring in the Ritual of our MS., thus fully corroborating Zunz's view.

It is a well established fact that the Ritual of the Babylonian Jews differed essentially from that of the Palestinian Jews and that the numerous prayer books used by the Jews in various countries are based on either the one or the other or a combination of both. The original Palestinian Ritual, however, is no longer in existence. What we know about it is gleaned from passages in the Palestinian Talmud and other works, particularly the so-called Tractate Soferim, likewise a Palestinian product. I have endeavored to establish the close connection between the Jews of Palestine and those of Italy from the time before the destruction of the

Second Temple, when there existed a Jewish settlement in Rome, down to the 12th century. I have tried further to show the great spiritual influence Palestinian Jewry exerted upon the Jewish communities of Italy, especially in the field of liturgy, and finally came to the conclusion that the "Ḥibbur Berakot" of Menaḥem b. Solomon represents in the main the Palestinian Ritual which had become the fixed Ritual of the Italian Jews.

The fact that the Babylonian academies of Sura and Pumbeditha became the standard authorities for Jews and Judaism throughout the world led Jewish scholars to believe that also the liturgy stood under their influence, and that consequently the Palestinian rite, being opposed to the Babylonian, was effaced in the course of time and left no trace. As I set out to investigate the various rites of the Jewish liturgy and endeavored to find a common source, the conviction forced itself upon me that the Palestinian rite was not altogether obliterated. The Palestinian rabbis of the Geonic period fought for the maintenance of their liturgical rite and synagogual traditions, knowing very well that after all it is the synagogue that exerts the greatest and most potent influence on Jewish life. And from its native soil the Palestinian rite, though in a round-about way, was transplanted also to the Diaspora, first to Italy, then to Germany, and partly also to France. It is true that it was not preserved in its integrity even in Italy. As Zunz so aptly pointed out, "the present day liturgy is the product of a milennial development."

Of considerable importance should prove the numerous hitherto unknown piyyutim found in our MS., which will undoubtedly enrich our synagogual poetry.

I give, in the second part of this book, a number of texts from the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, with notes and discussions, many of which, I hope, the reader will find interesting as well as instructive.

CHAPTER I

THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT

Our MS. of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot is a copy of the original MS. that was preserved for centuries in the Library in Turin (Italy). The original is noted on page 52 of Bernh. Peyron's Catalogue,[1] number LI, A, III 2. It gives the order and text of prayers according to the Italian ritual for almost the whole year (except Rosh ha-Shanah, Yom Kippur and Sukkot); it contains rules pertaining to benedictions and prayers; also halakot, essential to the observance of Sabbath and the Festivals; and customs traceable to Italy and Palestine and also to the two great academies of Sura and Pumbeditha.

According to Peyron's statement the original MS. was written on parchment—261 folio leaves; the script, beautiful and elegant, was midway between the square and the Italian Rabbinic script of the thirteenth century. The copy of our MS. is written by two different hands. About 200 leaves, written on one side only, are in the clear and legible handwriting of the late Prof. Schechter, while the rest, likewise clear and legible, is by another hand.

CHAPTER II

EARLIER AUTHORITIES AND THE SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT

The zealous student of Jewish liturgy finds it surprising that not one of our earlier authorities mentions Seder Ḥibbur Berakot. While the Seder Rab Amram Gaon has virtually become the prime source of quotation for all the halakic authorities of earlier and later times, so that R. Tam[2] in

[1] *Codices hebraici . . . quae in Tauriensi athenaeo asservantur*, Taurini, 1880.

[2] *Sefer ha-Yashar*, ch. 619. (Vienna 1811): כל מי שאינו בקי בסדר רב עמרם... אין לו להרוס דברי הקדמונים ומנהגיהם.

his Responsum to R. Meshullam is found to say: "He that is not versed in the Seder Rab Amram has no right to subvert the words of the ancients and their customs," and while the collections of prayers and benedictions that appeared after the time of Rab Amram Gaon, e. g. Siddur of Rashi,[3] the Maḥzor Vitry,[4] the Eshkol,[5] the Manhig,[6] the Abudraham, and others, all attained great fame and their halakic decisions on matters of liturgy were referred to by succeeding Rabbis, the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, though it antedates the 12th century and is in no way inferior to the other collections, being particularly useful for a knowledge of the development of the liturgy and payyetanic literature in general, did not attain any distinction, nay, it was completely ignored.

CHAPTER III

MODERN SCHOLARS AND THE SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT

In contrast to its previous neglect, Jewish scholars of recent years have had recourse to the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, and to some extent investigations were started into its varied contents. However, none of these was thorough and exhaustive, leaving ample room for a searching analysis of this interesting collection.

It is only just that attention should be called to these preliminary efforts and that the views and opinions of these scholars should be stated here as briefly as possible.

[3] ed. by Solomon Buber (Berlin, 1910–11).
[4] ed. by S. Hurwitz (Berlin, 1889–1893).
[5] of Abr. b. Isaac of Narbonne (12 c.).
[6] of Abr. b. Nathan named Yarḥi, i. e. of Lunel (13 c.).

a. Leopold Zunz

Leopold Zunz was the first Jewish scholar to profit by our Seder, in the course of his well known researches into the development of the piyyutim and the chronological sequence of the payyetanim. In the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot there are scores of very old prayers, piyyutim and seliḥot, whose authors are unknown. Through his remarkable knowledge and acumen Zunz was able to bring to light the names of the authors of these hidden treasures and thus add some new payyetanim to his list. His *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie* 1865 enumerates the payyetanim, giving in a fascinating style biographical notes of each of them.

How useful the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot was to Zunz can be seen from the fact that his book records about 130 new piyyutim and seliḥot from it, some of them revealing new names and important biographical material.

Zunz made use of the MS., without however, making due reference to his source. Despite careful search in his *Literaturgeschichte* I have been able to locate his source in only 8 cases out of the 130 piyyutim quoted therein. Professor Alexander Marx in his "*Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram*"[7] quotes Prof. Schechter as having pointed to one passage in Zunz's work[8] where our Siddur is referred to. Zunz, discussing the piyyut אליהו הנביא עד מתי אתה תאחר ascribes the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot to a certain Menaḥem, without, however, giving his reason for such ascription. On page 649 of his *Literaturgeschichte* where he ascribes the piyyut ארבע חיות אשר בם שכינה שרת for the Yoẓer of the Sabbath before Pentecost to Daniel ben Jeḥiel, he adds, "which is found in an old manuscript" (der in einer alten Handschrift sich findet). Solomon Schechter, in his

[7] *Jahrb. d. Jüd.-liter. Gesellschaft*, 1908.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 163, Note 8.

copy of the MS., justly made the following remark to these words of Zunz: (דבריו רומזים על כת"י זה) "his words refer to this manuscript." The piyyut is indeed mentioned in our copy of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot.

Besides these two passages noticed by Prof. Solomon Schechter, I succeeded after many efforts in finding eight others wherein Zunz obviously had in mind our MS.

On p. 66,[9] Zunz, speaking of Kerobot for Minḥah on week-days, for Musaf and Minḥah on Sabbaths, and for services on fast days, mentions the Kerobot: אדון למענך עוזרינו וגוננינו, אנא אלהינו אזון שועתנו, זה אתה אלהי תהלתנו, פקודיך שומרים תמיד להגן, אני אריב את ריבך, אהללה ללובש עז וגדולה and notes "as it seems to have been customary in Italy" ("wie es scheint in Italien ueblich gewesen"), whilst as a matter of fact, all these Kerobot are very old and from the statement of the Eshkol[10] with reference to the first Kerobah "The early Ḥazzanim received it from Mar Rab Yehudai, and he from his master, and he from his master" וחזנים הראשונים קבלו ממר רב יהודאי והוא מרבו עד רבו it would appear that they were used also outside of Italy.

It is also possible that these Kerobot are survivals of the prayer known in Berakot IV, 3 as מעין י"ח which in the opinion of Rab (b. Berakot p. 28 a) means מעין כל ברכה וברכה an abstract of each benediction.[11] All these shortened 'Amidot were lost, and only recently my attention has been called by Prof. Elbogen to the existence of some of them among the Genizah fragments at Cambridge. Fortunately they are also preserved in our Seder. Their origin seems to have been in Palestine, as we shall show at greater length in the second part of this book.

On p. 72 Zunz quotes a piyyut entitled אגודת ירח ומרגועים

[9] *Literaturgeschichte.*

[10] *Hilkot Tefillat Minḥah*, p. 55.

[11] Comp. Auerbach's *Naḥal Eshkol*, p. 55. Note 14, and Elbogen, *Der juedische Gottesdienst* p. 60.

for Sabbath-newmoon under the general remark "italienischer Ritus" whereas its particular source is Seder Ḥibbur Berakot.

On p. 89, under אתא יום ענוגה, a shortened grace after meals on Sabbath, Zunz cites as source Cod. Turin 29, no doubt having in mind this MS. which bears that number in the catalogue of Pasinus (Turin 1749) which he must have used.

On p. 243, the seliḥa יודע היום כי אתה אל עליון translated into German in his Synagogale Poesie (p. 212), is dismissed with a short note "is ascribed to him (Joseph b. Samuel Tob Elem) in a certain MS." (wird ihm in einem MS. zugeteilt) without specifying the MS., whereas it is really found, though only in part, in our Seder ascribed to Joseph b. Samuel Tob Elem.

On p. 251 Zunz mentions the Payyetan Nathan b. Zedekiah and his Seliḥot for the Fast of Esther: את אלהי דרשתי, אהודך ה' אלהינו, אלהי האלהים ורב עלילות, which had been found "in dem Ritualwerk Menachem's." Here also Zunz refers briefly to our Seder without giving his source. Prof. Schechter in his copy followed Zunz and did not give the complete texts, but only the opening and closing verses and the acrostic of the Payyetan, and so these seliḥot have been lost.

On p. 268 Zunz mentions the teḥinnah אני קראתיך אל כי תענני by Abraham b. Jacob, and adds as a source "which is found in the old MS. Cod. Turin 29 close to Abraham's אעירה שחר" (welches sich in der alten Handschrift Cod. Turin 29 neben Abraham's אעירה שחר findet). Both these supplications—אני קראתיך and אעירה שחר are actually found in our Seder, one following the other, and both have been published, the former in the letters of S. D. Luzzatto, p. 610 and the latter in Maḥzor Rome among Seliḥot for the Ninth of Ab.

On p. 457 he introduces the payyetan Naḥum and states that his piyyutim אני אל ראשון, כבודו איהל כהיום על הר סיני, אתה הוא אדיר אדירים (Yoẓer, Silluk and Ophan) for Pentecost are found in Cod. Turin 29. But as we have seen above Cod. Turin 29 and our Seder are identical, and indeed, these piyyutim were in our Seder. It is a pity that such piyyutim by the payyetan Naḥum, about whose life and place of residence we are uninformed were not copied by Prof. Schechter in full, for then we might have been able to lift the veil of obscurity from this payyetan.

Finally on p. 459–60 mention is made of R. Joshua, author of the piyyut for the seventh night of Passover, beginning יה שלח אורו found also in the Maḥzor of Rome and Romania. Zunz remarks that in Cod. Turin 29 it appears as "Ma'arib de R. Joshua," whilst a MS. of a later date (a. 1441) ascribes the Ma'arib to Rab and Samuel.

b. Abraham Berliner

After Zunz, Abraham Berliner merits our consideration in connection with the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot.

In June 1873 Berliner visited the Library in Turin, and of all the valuable MSS. the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot particularly attracted his attention. After a cursory perusal Berliner at once recognized its great value and he wished to have a copy made thereof, but was unable to find a reliable copyist.[12] He began, however, to awaken the interest of Jewish scholars in this MS. and as a result the copying was done by the late Professor Schechter during his visit to the libraries of Italy.

In his critical remarks on the Catalogue of Peyron, in 1880[13] Berliner expressed his opinion as against Peyron's that this MS. contained the whole Siddur of Rab Amram,

[12] Berliner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I. B. p. 134.
[13] *Hebräische Bibliographie*, 20 (1880–1) p. 128.

more fully than that published in 1865 by Rabbi Naḥman Nathan Coronel. Likewise, in 1904, after the conflagration of Turin had consumed our MS., Berliner,[14] rejoicing in the fact that some manuscripts had been previously copied, particularly the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, reiterates his opinion that this is the Siddur of Rab Amram Gaon, and he praises it highly.

What considerations led Berliner to such a conjecture? It appears that the close similarity of the opening words of Seder Ḥibbur Berakot to the preface of Siddur Rab Amram Gaon led him to this identification.

זה סדר חיבור ברכות שלכל דבר (here was a blank) עמרם גאון בר שישנא ריש מתיבתא דמן מתא מחסיא לרבנא יצחק בריה דרבנא שמעון חביב ויקיר עלינו ועל כל ישיבה כולה שלום רב ורחמנות מן השמים יהיה עליך ועל זרעך ועל כל חכמים ותלמידים ואחינו השרוים שם שאו שלום רב ממנו ומן רב צמח אב בית דין ומן אלופים וחכמי ישיבה שלנו ששאלתם סדר ברכות ותפלות שלכל השנה כך אנו נוהגים וכך למדנו מרבותינו. "This is the order of compilation of Blessings for every occasion. Amram Gaon b. Sheshna, head of the academy at Sura to Rabban Isaac son of Rabban Simeon, beloved and dear to us and the whole academy. Great peace and mercy be granted to thee and thy children and all the learned men and disciples and our brethren there residing. Accept peaceful wishes from us and from Rab Zemaḥ, ab-beth-din, and from the Allufim and learned men of our academy. Inasmuch as ye have asked the order of blessings and prayers for the whole year, thus are we accustomed to do and thus have we learned from our rabbis."

These words, resembling for the greater part the opening sentences of Seder Rab Amram Gaon, led Berliner to identify the two compilations. But aside from the fact that the

[14] *Gesammelte Schriften*, B. I. p. 134.

formula of a book is no criterion for its authorship, Peyron demonstrated in his catalogue mentioned above, p. 52, that the script at the beginning of the Seder is later than that of the body of the book ("Folium primum a recentiore adiectum est"), and there is no reason to doubt his words. In such matters we may rely on Peyron, who was an experienced bibliographer and careful research worker.

All the four extant MSS. of Seder Rab Amram Gaon begin with the מאה ברכות "And the order of prayers and benedictions for the whole year which you have asked . . . We have thought fit to arrange and send to you according to the tradition we possess, as ordained by the Tannaim and Amoraim and alluded to in what the Tanna Rabbi Meir said, 'One is in duty bound to recite a hundred blessings every day' " etc. Siddur Rashi, Maḥzor Vitry and Shibbale ha-Leket likewise begin, "R. Meir says one is in duty bound to recite a hundred blessings . . ." The Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, however, begins thus, "When one rises from his bed . . . he says, 'Be sanctified, ye saints התכבדו מכובדים . . . ' " etc., and not until the conclusion of instructions concerning the morning service, rules on the cleansing of hands, regulations concerning the meal, grace after meal, benedictions over fruits, etc. do we find "and every son of Israel is bound to recite a hundred benedictions a day," with enumeration of them.

Though Abraham Berliner was mistaken in his identification, his suggestion resulted in the preservation of this valuable MS. through the copy of Prof. Schechter.

c. Alexander Marx

Prof. Alexander Marx has dealt with our MS. in the course of his researches into Seder Rab Amram Gaon[15] and

[15] See his *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram*, 1908.

his studies of the Geonic period.[16] Marx in his *Untersuchungen* and also in his notes to Berliner's *Gesammelte Schriften* (p. 231), rectified Berliner's error. As adopting Zunz's view, Marx speaks of our MS. as "Menaḥem's Seder Ḥibbur Berakot."

But Marx regards the MS. as "a very old compilation of the prayer-book, which, as the opening shows, made ample use of Seder Rab Amram" (eine sehr alte Bearbeitung des Gebetbuches, welche wie der Beginn beweist, S. A. stark benutzt haben muss.) As a matter of fact the Seder Rab Amram is not the foundation upon which the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot rests, nor can the foreword be adduced as reliable testimony thereto, for the foreword, though it begins עמרם גאון בר שישנא ריש מתיבתא דמתא מחסיא . . . is undoubtedly a later addition, in a later handwriting. Moreover, there was a blank of almost a whole line before עמרם גאון and who knows but that in the blank may have been written the name of the actual author.[17] However that may be, the opening must not be allowed to affect our verdict.

CHAPTER IV

THE AUTHOR OF SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT

Of all the scholars who have dealt with the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, none has indicated clearly who was its real author. It remains therefore for us to attempt to determine his identity, not an easy task. It is possible to ferret out payyetanim in acrostics, either at the beginning or at the end of a piyyut. But where a poet does not choose to disclose his name in this wise, how can one find it out? That is how it stands with our author. Zunz speaks twice of "Menaḥem

[16] *JQR.* New Series I. pp. 61–279.

[17] It is noteworthy that Marx reads דברי עמרם גאון instead of דבר עמרם גאון.

in Seder Ḥibbur Berakot." Did he find any support for this in the MS.? Did he succeed in discovering an acrostic pointing to a Menaḥem? And if so, which Menaḥem was intended?

As a matter of fact Zunz did discover such an acrostic. Among his notes on Parma and Turin MSS. which were published after his death by Dr. Freimann in the *Hebraeische Bibliographie* for 1916 (49–64; 123–142), there are some notes relating to Cod. Turin 29 (see page 141).[18] Here we see that Zunz really found an acrostic M N Ḥ M on fol. 45 b, of the original MS. where in a short foreword to Hilkot Erubim we read as follows:

מלאה תכונת החול תפילות וברכות הכתובים.
נהיגת כל ערכיו וברכה לכל דבר שבו מחויבים.
חילוי ערבית ושחרית ומנחה ותפילת תענית בנדבים.
מעתה יסייעני יוצרי לערוך בקיצור הלכות עירובים.

Besides the mere name Menaḥem, Zunz suggested also "(b. Sol?)" in parenthesis with a query. Thus being unable to ascribe it wholly to Rab Amram Gaon and undoubtedly, like Berliner, being misled by the opening which resembles R. Amram's, he says, "benutzend Amram's Seder."

Now, let us see whether Menaḥem b. Solomon fits in here or not.

If we accept Zunz's suggestion we are led immediately to Italy, where Menaḥem ben Solomon, the well-known author of Sekel Tob and Eben Boḥan must have lived. Both Zunz and Dukes are doubtful about the habitat of this scholar, the former placing him either in Italy or France, while the latter ascribes him to France, notwithstanding the fact that all the foreign words occurring in the Midrash Sekel Tob are clearly of Italian origin. Gross, however, rightly places him in Italy, and the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot corroborates

[18] *Hebraeische Bibliographie* 1916, 141.

his opinion. The fact is that although the author himself does not give the slightest hint as to his place, still an Italian atmosphere pervades the MS. throughout. In the first place it is very striking that most of the foreign words, about twenty in number, are of Italian origin.[19] Had he been a Frenchman he would like Rashi, have explained rare words in French.

Secondly, the text and order of the prayers, with slight differences, is that of the Italian Maḥzor.

Thirdly, most of the Payyetanim whose compositions are quoted in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, are of Italian origin and of the 11th and 12th centuries, e. g. R. Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen of Siponto (a port in Apulia); R. Daniel b. Jeḥiel, brother of R. Nathan, author of the Aruk; R. Nathan b. Zidkiah; R. Paltiel, etc.; and even some anonymous piyyutim, judging from internal evidence, are clearly of Italian origin, especially since they are also found in Maḥzor Rome.

Fourthly, the synagogual customs and the liturgical rules in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot are mostly the same as in the Italian ritual, and can be found only in the Shibbale ha-Leket, of the Italian Zidkiah b. Abraham Anaw. As proof of this assertion a comparison might be made between the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot and the Shibbale ha-Leket. For instance, with reference to the custom of saying ולהיות לכם twice in the Kedushah, comp. Shibbale ha-Leket Kelal 45 and Seder Ḥibbur Berakot fol. 123 (S. Schechter's copy) where the language is the same almost word for word; as to the question whether ויתקלס should be said in Kaddish, comp. Shibbale ha-Leket 28 and Seder Ḥibbur Berakot fol. 13; concerning one who has already prayed in a syna-

[19] פולינטא, פולטא (fol. 51); בוצול קורא, קפרי (fol. 52); מוגרו (fol. 62); ויאולי, קוטוניו, בלסמו, לאורו, ליליו, רוסא, קושטו, נרופלי, נרקיס, סימלק, מוסקטו (fol. 69); בנבצי (fol. 133); לטוקא (fol. 210) and the Greek תוריאה (fol. 53).

gogue and then goes to another synagogue, see Sh. ha-L. 44 and SḤB. fol. 12; as to the necessity of a precentor being righteous and upright, comp. Sh. ha-L. 10 and SḤB. fol. 16; with regard to consolatory passages from Scripture on Sabbath afternoon comp. Sh. ha-L. 126 and SḤB. fol. 139; on the question of why Kaddish is said between the reading of the Torah and the Haftarah comp. Sh. ha-L. 79 and SḤB. fol. 121; with reference to the spreading of hands by priests during the Birkat Kohanim comp. SH. ha-L. 23 and SḤB. fol. 39.

Such comparisons are apt to lead us to the belief that the Italian author of the Shibbale ha-Leket had lying before him the same sources as were at the disposal of the author of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot unless we go a step further and assume that R. Zidkiah actually made use of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot.

All these considerations show that we have an Italian literary product. There still remains the question, who was its author?

A careful study of Menaḥem b. Solomon's Sekel Tob will give us the key to the solution of this problem.

CHAPTER V

THE SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT AND THE MIDRASH SEKEL TOB

SINCE the publication of the Midrash Sekel Tob by S. Buber (Berlin 1900) we are in better position to investigate it than was Zunz, and to set up comparisons between it and the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot.

By collating in parallel columns some liturgical passages in Sekel Tob and in Seder Ḥibbur Berakot we shall reach but one conclusion: that our Seder was compiled by Menaḥem b. Solomon of Italy.

1. The greatest of the early authorities, among them Zeraḥiah ha-Levi, find difficulty in answering the question —"Why do we not recite שהחיינו in counting the Omer?" Zeraḥiah in his Ha-Maor, towards the end of Talmud Pesaḥim, gives two reasons, the second being, that that blessing (ברכת הזמן) is appropriate only for something wherefrom we derive enjoyment, as for instance, carrying a Lulab, which is a joyful symbol,—whereas counting the Omer contains no suggestion of enjoyment, but rather grief at the destruction of the Temple אין בו זכר לשום הנאה אלא לעגמת נפש לחרבן בית מאויינו. Joḥanan Treves in his קמחא דאבישונא, a commentary on the Roman Maḥzor (Bologna 1540), adduces this reason in the name of Rabbenu Nissim (b. Jacob, 11th c.), and adds שאין אנו עתה מביאים העומר "because we do not offer now the Omer and because we recite after the Sefirah the prayer יהי רצון מלפניך שחשב עבודת בית המקדש, therefore we do not say שהחיינו."

Although Joḥanan Treves does not definitely state whether or not יהי רצון was already used at the time of Rabbenu Nissim, nevertheless we are certain that this short prayer is very old, and can be traced to an even earlier time than that of Rabbenu Nissim. For, as we know, the ceremony of offering the Omer was dependent upon the existence of a central sanctuary (comp. Shibbale ha-Leket, 234, p. 217), and therefore, when the Omer was offered, the blessing על ספירת העומר was probably recited, and then followed by the שהחיינו (accepting the Talmudic statement, the historicity of which cannot be doubted, that אכנה"ג תיקנו להם לישראל ברכות ותפלות קדושות והבדלות, b. Ber. 33a). The blessing שהחיינו itself is very old, for the sages of the Mishnah (Berakot IX, 1) speak of it as well known, and so, we assume, it was doubtless current in the Temple. Now, I venture to suggest, that after the destruction of the sanctuary, when R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai ruled that the whole

day of the waving of the Omer, the eating of the new grain shall be prohibited, שיהא יום הנף כולו אסור (Rosh ha-Shanah 30a; Menaḥot 68a; Sukka 41a; Tosephta Menaḥot X 26),—the blessing שהחיינו after the Sefirat ha-Omer was abolished, and in its stead, a short prayer for the restoration of the Temple service, the יהי רצון, was introduced. Such a prayer is self evident from the purport of Joḥanan ben Zakkai's rule about יום הנף, the reason of which was the hope that the Temple might be built and the old custom reestablished.

This prayer, יהי רצון, remained in vogue in Palestine, and from Palestine it came to the Italian communities through the intimate relations between these countries, and from Italy it spread to Germany and France. The first, indeed, to mention this יהי רצון is Menaḥem b. Solomon in his Sekel Tob, as quoted by the author of the אסופות (MS. CCCXXIV 53d).[20]

Setting side by side in parallel columns the halakah about counting the Omer in Sekel Tob and in Seder Ḥibbur Berakot we find them to agree almost verbatim.

Seder Ḥibbur Berakot (p. 228)	*Sekel Tob* (quoted in אסופות)
ומן ליל שני של פסח... מברכין על ספירת העומר ומצוה למימני יומי ומצוה למימני שבועי	בליל שני של פסח (XXXV) מתחילין למנות העומר ומונין יומי ושבועי שכן מצוה למנות יומי ושבועי
(p. 222) יהי רצון... שתשיב עבודת בית המקדש למקומה במהרה בימינו	יהי רצון (also ibid XLIV .27) שתשיב עבודת בית המקדש למקומה במהרה בימינו comp. also the Oxford MS. quoted in Buber's introduction p. XLIV, 27.

[20] about the MS. of the אסופות see Zunz, *Ritus*, (14–15), and Buber in his Introduction to the Midrash Sekel Tob.

From the time of R. Meir of Rothenburg (d. 1293) this short prayer was introduced into all liturgical manuals and it spread to all Jewish communities.[21]

However, if the following statement, found in Tosaphot, Megilla 20b, s.v. כל, refers to R. Jacob b. Meir Tam (1100–1171), it appears that already in the 12th century R. Tam introduced the recitation of the יהי רצון among the French Jews. The Tosaphot (*ibid*) reads as follows: ואחר שבירך על הספירה אומר י"ר שיבנה וכו' מה שאין כן בתקיעת שופר ולולב והיינו טעמא לפי שאין אלא הזכרה עתה לבנין ביהמ"ק אבל לשופר ולולב יש עשיה This statement seems to have no connection with the preceding discussion of the Tosaphot, and we suppose it, therefore, to be a later interpolation.

2. As in the matter of the counting of the Omer, a similarity between the Sekel Tob and the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot can be observed also in connection with other laws and customs.

Sekel Tob	*Seder Ḥibbur Berakot*
As quoted in Asuppot — — Resp. XXXIV, 34c. in Buber's Introduction	(181)
כל חמירא דמשתכח ברשותי... יהא בטל וחשיב כחסף תביר דלית ביה משא	כל חמירא דאית ברשותי... יהא בטיל כעפרא וכחספא תבירא דלית ביה משא

See also Sekel Tob Exod. XII

This unique text is found only in the Sekel Tob and the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot.

3. Cleansing of Hands

Sekel Tob	*Seder Ḥibbur Berakot*
(According to a MS. from the Bodleian Library 1101/2 quoted in Buber's introduction)	(47)
	כל המזלזל בנטילת ידים... בר נידוי הוא שכן מצינו באלעזר בן ה נ ד שפקפק בנט"י

[21] Comp. Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 15.

(XLIV) וראיתי בשכל טוב מאן
דמזלזל בנטילת ידים בר נידוי הוא
שהרי רבותינו נידו את אלעזר בן...

Apparently Buber omits here the patronymic בן הנר because he is aware that in Eduyyot V. 6 it is אלעזר בן חנוך שפקפק בנטילת ידים.

4. Kiddush Lebanah

Sekel Tob (Exod. XII)	*Seder Ḥibbur Berakot* (71)
פעלו... אשר במאמרו ברא שחקים... צדק ואמונה	אשר במאמרו ברא שחקים... פעלו צדק ואמונה

This text as found in SḤB and Sekel Tob is also unique, differing from other known versions: פועל אמת ופעולתם אמת of Mas. Soferim (ed. Müller), XX, 1; פועלי אמת of Tos. Sanhedrin (42a S. V. פועלי אמת); פעלו אמת ופעולתם צדק of Maḥzor Rome, and פועל אמת ופעולתם צדק of Maimonides, Hilkot Berakot X, 16.

5. Reference should also be made to the following passages concerning the Seder shel Pesaḥ. Comp. Seder Ḥibbur Berakot p. 210 ff. and Sekel Tob to Exod. XII, p. 131 ff. Comp. Buber's notes ibid. 60, 114.

6. With reference to the blessing over spices at the close of the Sabbath, the Oxford manuscript 1101–2, states on the authority of Sekel Tob that Rabbenu Eleazar of Metz, used to take a cup and fill it with all kinds of spices saying over it על עצי בשמים instead of בורא עצי בשמים. Manasseh Grossberg, who copied these rules for the Sekel Tob from the above mentioned MS. (see Buber's introduction, p. XLIII), erred in his belief that וכן הלכה which follows על עצי בשמים is part of the decision of R. Menaḥem b. Solomon. As a matter of fact, it is the author of the MS. (who appears to have been a disciple of Rabbenu Jacob b. R. Yakar, the teacher of Rashi) that thus states his agreement

with R. Eleazar of Metz. R. Menaḥem b. Solomon on the other hand, as may be seen from page 149 of our Seder, treating of Habdalah and its benedictions, gives the formula בורא עצי בשמים, which is the Italian Minhag to this day.

7. The foreign words in Seder Ḥibbur Berakot (210) find parallels in Sekel Tob, Exod. XII–8.

8. In our Seder just as in Sekel Tob, the author quotes his sources under the general term רבותינו, omitting to state the names of his authorities; see Sekel Tob to Gen. XIX, 3; XLIV, 13 and 23; Exod. IX, 9 and our Seder pp. 53, 57, 60, 61, 69.

9. The same sources which served him in the Sekel Tob underlie also the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, namely, the Targum Yerushalmi to the Pentateuch, the Talmud Yerushalmi, the Talmud Babli, the *Pesikta de Rab Kahana*, the *Sheeltot de Rab Aḥa*, the *Halakot Gedolot*, the Responsa of the Geonim, R. Eleazar Kalir, Ḥananel b. Ḥushiel and Isaac Alfasi, all of which will be discussed further on in their proper place.

10. The manner of indicating sources is the same in both these works; for example, comp. Sekel Tob to Genesis XV, 12; XIX, 4; XXX, 1 with Seder Ḥibbur Berakot 117, 143. Also in another respect the two works resemble one another: where things have been omitted in their proper place, the cause of this omission, as for instance, in Sekel Tob to Gen. XLI, 45 מפני השכחה כתבתי במדרש מוקדם ומאוחר is paralleled in our Seder fol. 141 אבל שכחנו לכותבם במקומם or fol. 143 ומפני הטרוד נשכחו ולא נכתבו במקומם.

In both the Sekel Tob and Seder Ḥibbur Berakot the author quotes the Talmud, either through the formula רבותינו אמרו or through a general reference to the Talmud without special mention of treatise or chapter. In this connection it is interesting to note that at times his excerpts indicate that his manuscripts differed from those upon which our editions of the Talmud are based.

The evidence adduced hereby, coupled with the general spirit and style of the two works will, I believe, suffice to prove that Seder Ḥibbur Berakot was composed by the author of Midrash Sekel Tob, namely, Menaḥem b. Solomon. This evidence, though not formidable, hangs on a stronger thread than that of Steinschneider, who ascribes to Menaḥem the fragments of a commentary to the Five Megillot found in the Berlin Library, simply because that commentary makes reference to the Sekel Tob on Lamentations.[22]

As to the acrostic in our Seder which reveals the author Menaḥem, it should be remarked that it was a general practice of mediaeval authors to conceal their identity in the beginning of their books but to reveal it later, either in the middle or at the close, through an acrostic, or some other literary device. Even in Sekel Tob Menaḥem waits until the middle before he discloses his name. Of Italian scholars who adopted this method before Menaḥem, may be mentioned Sabbatai Donolo in his תחכמוני and Aḥimaaz in his יוחסין, who employed acrostics in the middle of their books.[23] It is interesting to note that even in cases where the authors gave their names, the copyists sometimes omitted them. Perhaps it was for this reason that Donolo asked every one who may copy his book, to copy also the preface and to mention his name.

CHAPTER VI

SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PALESTINE AND BABYLON DURING THE GEONIC PERIOD

HAVING thus proved that the Menaḥem suggested by Zunz is the same as the author of the Sekel Tob, who lived in Italy during the first half of the 12th century, and having

[22] See Steinschneider *Hebr. Bibl.* 1877–98, p. 41.
[23] See Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften* III, p. 3.

shown that his prayer manual is virtually the Italian ritual, let us now proceed to analyze the sources from which he drew his materials, in order to be able to determine the development of the liturgy in Italy and its interrelation with the liturgy of other countries, particularly Babylon and Palestine.

Our information about the spiritual life of the Palestinian Jews in the Geonic era is defective and limited; while in Babylon academies flourished, the halakah was studied zealously and numerous responsa were sent abroad, the spiritual life in Palestine seemed to be concentrated in the synagogue only. Synagogue activities and their development absorbed all the interest of Palestinian Jews. Even their literary activity bears the imprint of the synagogue, and all their spiritual products are of a synagogual character. In the halakic field, however, they produced very little. Like the Jewish communities of Spain and northern Africa they were compelled to send to Sura and Pumbeditha for halakic decisions, as is borne out by the Responsa collection *Shaare Zedek*.[24]

In this most important and authentic collection of Geonic Responsa we find perhaps for the first time in Geonic literature dissensions between Babylonian and Palestinian Rabbis אנשי מזרח ובני ארץ ישראל. Harsh expressions are used in the שערי צדק against the בני ארץ ישראל which points to unfriendly relations between the Babylonians and Palestinians, the former appearing to consider themselves as standing on a higher plane than the latter. Paltoi Gaon employs there (63b) very sharp language against the Palestinians, saying טועים אינון ותועין אינון.

Similar anti-Palestinian expressions, especially against the Talmud Yerushalmi, we find among the other Geonim, as,

[24] See Müller's מפתח לחשובות הגאונים p. 15, n. 3, and Eppenstein's *Beiträge*, p. 62.

for instance, by Sherira Gaon (comp. *Zikron la-Rishonim*, IV, Resp. 434), and Hai Gaon (comp. *Shaare Teshubah*, ch. 39; *Teshubot ha-Geonim* ed. Lyck, ch. 96; *Makria* ch. 42 according to Büchler in *REJ.*, L, 195; and *Eshkol*, II, 47).

Hence the maxim of the earlier medieval rabbis אנן אחרי בני בבל גרירן, "we follow the Babylonian authorities," to the exclusion of the Palestinian Talmud.

There are however, some rabbis, like Ḥananel and Nissim, who trusted the Talmud Yerushalmi alongside with the Babli and sometimes even sided with the former against the latter. It is noteworthy, too, that Italian rabbis, including our author Menaḥem b. Solomon, studied very carefully the commentary of R. Ḥananel. Also Alfasi and Maimonides at times follow this commentary in opposition to the Talmud Babli (comp. B. Ratner in his introduction to אהבת ציון וירושלים, p. IV).

Gradually the Palestinian scholars came to realize that they had lost spiritual influence, and that the Babylonian Geonim had supplanted them as halakic authorities. They were forced henceforth to accept the decisions of their Eastern contemporaries and to show them honor and respect.

This submission however, applies only to matters of Halakah; in liturgical matters and synagogue arrangements, based as they were on ancient tradition and hence sacred to the community, the Palestinian authorities remained free and independent, refusing to yield an iota to Geonic decisions on such subjects. This adamantine attitude of the Palestinians subsequently gave rise to many heated controversies.

These statements are borne out by the following responsum as to whether Kedushah and Shema should be recited on week days or on Sabbaths and holidays only:[25]

עד עכשיו אין אומרים בארץ ישראל קדוש ושמע אלא בשבת או בימים טובים בלבד בשחרית בלבד חוץ מירושלים ובכל מדינה שיש בה בבלאין

[25] *Geonica*, Ginzberg II, 52–20.

שעשו מריבה ומחלוקת עד שקיבלו עליהם לומר קדושה בכל יום אבל בשאר מדינות ועירות שבארץ ישראל שאין בהם בבלאין אין אומרים קדוש אלא בשבת ובימים טובים בלבד.

"Up to now Kedushah and Shema are recited in Palestine only on Sabbaths or on holidays during the morning service, except Jerusalem and every province where there are Babylonians, for they quarrelled and resolved to say Kedushah every day, but in all the other provinces and cities of Palestine, where there are no Babylonians, Kedushah is said only on Sabbaths and holidays." Ginzberg righty observes (*Geonica* II p. 48) that the author of this Responsum is a Palestinian of the latter half of the eighth century. This Palestinian in his veneration for Rabbi Jehudai Gaon, says about him in the same responsum" שלא היה כמותו מן כמה שנים עד עכשיו שהיה גדול במקרא ובמשנה ובתלמוד ובמדרש ובתוספות ובהגדות ובהלכה למעשה ולא היה אומר דבר שלא שמע מפי רבו והיה גדול בקדושה ובטהרה ובחסידות ובענוה והיה מדקדק בכל המצות כולן והיה מאסיר את עצמו לשמים והיה מקרב את הבריות לתורה ולמצוות ולא הניח כמותו אף אתם התבוננו לדבריו והבינו שם... "that for many years there had not been anyone so great as he in Bible, Mishnah, Talmud and Midrash, in Tosephta, in Haggadah, and practical Halakah, and that he never said aught that he had not heard from his master, and that he surpassed in sanctity and in purity and humility and was punctilious in all precepts and devoted himself to Heaven and drew his fellow-men to Torah and precepts, and left none like him, give ye also attention to his words."

Evidently Babylonians who left their eastern home and came to reside in Palestine continued to regard the Babylonian rabbis as superior to the Palestinian. The Babylonian Jews in Palestine tried to introduce their native customs into the synagogues of their adopted country, they tried to dictate even in matters of liturgy in which Palestine remained supreme. Consequently, in the eighth century,

the spiritual forces of Palestine set out to retrieve their lost prestige, to manifest once more to their Babylonian opponents their ability to produce original literary creations and their non-dependence on Babylonian decisions. The result was the *Masseket Soferim*. This new literary product of Palestinian scholars raised considerably the dignity of Palestine in the eyes of Babylonia and the Diaspora in general. Whether the *Sheeltot* of Rab Aḥa Gaon influenced *Masseket Soferim*, or, according to Müller[26] and Eppenstein,[27] the influence was in an opposite direction, has not yet been clearly demonstrated. One thing appears to be certain: the compilers of *Masseket Soferim* made the first attempt to summarize and standardize the various traditions of Palestinian Jewry, to state clearly and precisely the ancient minhagim of the Holy Land in general and of Jerusalem in particular[28] on account of the high respect Palestine enjoyed among all Jews, and to impress upon them the stamp of irrefutable authority. Subsequently, *Masseket Soferim* found acceptance in all countries and became authoritative everywhere.

Thus the literary rivalry, if we may call it so, between the Babylonian and Palestinian scholars began with *Masseket Soferim* and found its most emphatic expression in the well-known controversy between Saadia and Ben Meir in the 10th century.[29]

[26] His introduction to *Masseket Soferim*, p. 21.

[27] In his above mentioned book, p. 61.

[28] See *Masseket Soferim* XVIII, 5 וכן היה מנהג טוב בירושלים and XXI, 1 כמנהג רבותינו שבמערב and similar passages.

[29] This may explain the question that baffled Poznanski (*Festschrift Adolf Schwarz*, 471–487): "Why were the relations between Babylon and Palestine so friendly before the time of Ben Meir?" In reality this friendship was but external and superficial. The Palestinians were only waiting for a suitable occasion to assert themselves. And the occasion presented itself at the time of Ben Meir.

Besides the liturgy proper the Palestinian Jews became instrumental also in developing the Haggadah and Midrash which constitute important elements in the synagogue service, serving to encourage and comfort the people in their distress. Most of the Midrashim and all the minor tractates of the Talmud are known to have originated in Palestine.

In addition, Palestine claims the piyyut too as its rightful product of that period. The earliest payyetanim, such as Yannai and Kalir who left their imprint on the Jewish liturgy as a whole, lived in Palestine and received their inspiration therefrom.

Another activity, closely connected with the liturgy, is the Masorah, in which the Palestinians excelled in those days. It grew out of a desire to preserve Hebrew pronunciation in the synagogue in its pristine beauty and purity. It was the scholars of Tiberias, preeminently R. Phinehas,[30] who with great effort built up the system of punctuation which for more than a millenium was authoritative to all the Jews of the Diaspora.

CHAPTER VII

SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ITALY AND PALESTINE

THE settlement of the Jews in Italy dates back to very ancient times. Already in the period immediately preceding the destruction of the Second Temple Jews came to Rome in such numbers as to form close-knit communities. But this influx increased considerably after the destruction of the Second Temple, when Rome formed one of the bulwarks of the Diaspora. In spite of the great distance separating these Jews from Palestine, they nevertheless, came in constant contact with it and kept up their allegiance to it, at

[30] Comp. Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, V. 94–97; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift* for 1872, p. 262; Harkavy, *Studien und Mittheilungen*, I, 112–115.

least as far as their spiritual existence was concerned. We know that throughout the period of the Tannaim the bond between Italy and Palestine was strong.

The Talmud (b. Ber. 19a) tells about Todos of Rome, who, as a remembrance of the Jewish life in Palestine during the Temple, introduced among his coreligionists the custom of eating "helmeted" kids (גדיים מקולסין) on Passover night, though it was in conflict with the Halakah and brought him the rebuke of Simon b. Shetaḥ, "If thou wert not Todos, I would excommunicate thee. אלמלא תודוס אתה נוזרנו עליך נדוי שאתה מאכיל את ישראל קדשים בחוץ." A more cogent reason for not excommunicating him is given in the Palestinian Talmud (Pesaḥim, 34a) namely, that he supported the rabbis of Palestine דהוה משלח פרנסתהון דרבנין. During the Hadrianic persecutions many Tannaim left Palestine to settle in Rome and continue there their intellectual activities. Of one of them, R. Mathya b. Ḥarash, we are told in Sifre, ch. 159, that he founded a great Yeshibah in Rome.[31] Also Joshua b. Levi emigrated to Rome (Gen. rabba ch. 77). No doubt the Yeshibot in Italy continued their existence without interruption, spreading Jewish lore according to the ideas and methods of the Palestinian rabbis, though the history of the Jews of Italy up to the eighth century is wrapped in obscurity. Only in the eighth century do we light upon the famous family of Lucca, in Lombardy, R. Kalonymus and his son Meshullam.

The interest of the Italian Jews in Palestine did not fade in the least during these early Middle Ages. In weal and woe they looked towards Palestine for spiritual comfort and instruction, and they were constantly guided by Palestinian laws and customs, especially as far as the ritual was concerned.

The best way, therefore, to appraise the spiritual life and

[31] Comp. b. Sanh. 32a אחר ר' מתיא בן חרש לרומי.

intellectual activity of the Italian Jews of that period is to draw a parallel between Italy and Palestine in those days.

Indeed, there seems to be a striking similarity between the literary activity of the Geonim in Palestine and that of the Italian rabbis. Just as in Palestine the Geonim devoted their energies to Haggadah, Midrash and liturgy, so also the rabbis in Italy occupied themselves with these subjects exclusively. It is known that Midrash *Shoḥer Tob* originated in Italy,[32] likewise *Tanḥuma*, *Yelamdenu*,[33] and possibly also Midrash *Mishle* and Midrash *Samuel*. According to some scholars, also *Pesikta rabbati* was compiled there (see Eppenstein, p. 180). And according to Guedemann, *Tanna de-be-Elijahu* bears upon it the stamp of Italy, wherefore he styles it[34] "the cornerstone for a reconstruction of the earliest period of Italian Jewish History."

Though the Haggadah was so important an element in the intellectual life of the Jews in Italy, it would be an error to assume that the study of the Talmud was altogether neglected. The Talmud was studied assiduously in Italy, but it was mainly the Palestinian Talmud, as it is evident from a Responsum of Solomon Luria, XXIX.

It is not impossible that the Palestinian Talmud would have disappeared altogether if Italian copyists had not copied and recopied it in response to the demand of native rabbis. Indeed, the only remaining copy of the Yerushalmi, that was preserved in the library of Leyden, from which the first printed copy was made in Venice (1522), was executed by an Italian, Jeḥiel b. Jekuthiel b. Benjamin ha-Rofe, who transcribed it from a copy that had been made in the 13th century for a scholar in Rome, Menaḥem b. Benjamin b. Menaḥem.

[32] See Zunz *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* p. 268 and 310; Zunz's view appears to be more correct than Buber's.

[33] See Eppenstein *ibid.* 179 and Zunz *Gottesd. Vortr. ibid.*

[34] *Erziehungswesen* II. p. 55.

So in the field of the piyyut Kalonymus II (950) and his son Meshullam the great (976) were probably the first payyetanim in Italy who composed Kerobot for all the feast-days. R. Gershom Meor ha-Golah in his well-known Responsum about the insertion of the Kerobot in the Prayers, mentions as the greatest payyetanim Yannai, Kalir, R. Kalonymus and his son Meshullam.[35]

R. Moses b. Kalonymus of Lucca, III. (1020?) is generous in his praise of the Italian scholars of his day; in his Yoẓer for the Day of Atonement entitled חכמי תום דרך,[36] he says: חכמי רבי תורות... חכמי צרוף אותיות שם... חכמי עדות קושט אמרי אמתך... חכמי נאם צופים ופיות מדבריך מלחמה משיבים בשערי דבירך... חכמי תפוש מטמוני חכמה ודעת...

In the 12th century Bari and Otranto, close to one another, were distinguished as seats of Jewish learning, so that even before the time of Rabbenu Tam their fame penetrated into France,[37] where it gave rise to the saying, "From Bari shall go forth Torah and the word of the Lord from Otranto."[38]

R. Moses Ḥalfi of Bari and R. Samuel of Otranto were scholars of great attainments (Rapoport in his supplementary remarks, *ibid*, p. 97). Rab Shesha, descendant of a Geonic family, spread knowledge of Jewish lore in Polia, the port of Naples. R. Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen, of Siponto, was considered a great authority (Shibbale ha-Leket

[35] Comp. Landshut *Amude ha-Abodah*, p. 102, 255; Shibbale ha-Leket, ch. 28, p. 25.

[36] Comp. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 363.

[37] See *Sefer ha-Yashar* of Rabbenu Tam, Resp. 620 in re B'nei Bari; also in *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of R. Abraham b. Daud, in the account of the four scholars taken as captives to Spain, where it is stated that they were going from Bari, from which it can be seen that Bari was considered a seat of scholars.

[38] R. Tam in a clause beginning שהיו קורין עליהם כי מבארי תצא תורה ודבר ה' מאוטרנטו.

chs. 34 and 292); and R. Nathan b. Jeḥiel, author of the Aruk, as well as his brother, ranked very high in scholarship.

The scholars of France are known to have sent questions to the scholars of Rome, as Rabbenu Tam who desired them to expound for him a Mishnah in Oholot (Sefer ha-Yashar 549, p. 60 d), and who cites also writings of R. Samuel of Bari (Shibbale ha-Leket 9). Even Rashi quotes expositions by scholars of Rome (b. Rosh ha-Shanah 14a and Keritot, 5a), likewise Mordecai (Baba Batra II, ch. 516). To these might be added R. Abraham of Pesaro (*Shibbale ha-Leket*, Introd. p. 7, note 44), R. Moses of Pavia (*Sefer ha-Yashar* 44a and Shibbale ha-Leket, Introd. p. 8); R. Eleazar of Verona (Shibbale ha-Leket, p. 13, 232, 244), and others.

Of special importance to our theme is the Megillat Aḥimaaz. Aḥimaaz b. Paltiel (1054)[39] gives us a clear view of Jewish intellectual life in Italy during the period of which we are treating, and from it we gather that not only in Bari and Otranto were there Yeshibot, but also in Oran and Venosa. We find mention of Venosa also in another source, where we read of the death of Rab Nathan b. Ephraim, who died in Venosa, and of whom it is said that he was איש מכובד ובעל חכמה, רב ישיבה ומנהיג דורו (Kaufmann, *Monatschrift* 1896, p. 471). Here we are told of an Italian Jew who contributed liberally to the support of Palestinian schools: ור' אחימעץ שמה בירושלים עיר המהוללה פעמים שלש בנדרים עלה ובכל פעם עלייתו מאה זהובים הוליך אתו, שכן היתה נדבתו... להטיב לעוסקי בתורתו, ולאבילי זבול תפארתו, ובפעם השלישי שעלה... כשהיינו יושבים בסעודה, מסובים עם ראש הישיבה, ותלמידי הרחבה

[39] *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, II. ed. Neubauer, p. 111–132. ומשם נסע ואל אורן פסע, ומצא שם אהלים, נטועים כנחלים, וכעצים שתולים על מים גדילים, ומדרשות קבועים, כארזים נטועים... ולוחמים ומתגברים, במלחמת שערים, ודורשים ברבים, באילת אהבים... הם הם הרשומים אחים הנעימים בני ר' אמיתיי ... ר' שפטיה ור' חננאל... וביניהם נקבע וישבתו שם קבע... ושם הראה אונים... כבהיות האורים וישיבת סנהדרין... The Yeshibah of Venosa is also mentioned in the inscriptions brought to light by Ascholi, (see Kaufman, *ibid.* 11–12).

פצחו בפציחה... נתנו עיניהם בתלמידיהם, היושבים לפניהם, וראש הישיבה שלהם הביט אליהם... (Neubauer, *ibid.* 113).[40]

Although the story may be merely a legend,—since it is one of the many legendary narratives relating the miracles wrought by a certain Babylonian R. Aaron,—still, these legends seem to be interwoven with facts. These narratives clearly show, that, until the latter part of the ninth century, the Palestinian influence upon Italy was very strong.

It would not be just, however, to speak of the Palestinian influence on Italy, and overlook entirely the Babylonian and Spanish influences. Thanks perhaps to its geographical situation, Italy was in the position of interchanging spiritual possessions with the rest of the world, including the far Eastern countries.

Italy was not all the time under Christian dominion. During the second half of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth, Southern Italy, as we know, came under the Arabian regime. Arabian attacks on Italy in the year 863–864, doubtless brought many a Jewish prisoner into Babylon. The transfer of these prisoners to Babylon, and the presence of the Arabian armies on Italian soil, no doubt brought the Jews of the two countries closer to each other, and afforded an opportunity for an exchange of thought on Jewish learning and Halakah between the Italian and Babylonian scholars.

Rab Hai Gaon even assumes that, of the two versions of the *Hilkot Gedolot* ascribed to Rab Jehudai Gaon (d. 763), the second version was prepared in Italy and brought into

[40] (*Ibid.*, p. 119). We are also told an interesting story that throws light upon the role of the preacher and cantor in the Jewish community life of that time, and upon the relationship that existed between the city and country Jews; the story tells of a Palestinian preacher who came to speak in a Venosa synagogue,—a trick was played on him, much trouble followed, and finally the entire matter was straightened out through some minor changes in the piyyut זכר קדמונים.

Babylon by the Italian Jews who were taken captive by the Arabian forces in 863–864. הוו יודעין, שהלכות אלו של מר רב יהודאי לית חזינא בבבל ביומוי דרב יהודאי אלא בתריה כשיעור מאה שנין אייתינון שבואין לבבל (Or Zarua II, 432).

Assuming with Epstein (מאמר על ספר ה"ג, *Hagoren* III, 64. Comp. also S. Asaph, *Hashiloah* 1918, p. 16) that by שבואין Hai meant the Jewish captives taken by the Arabian soldiers in Southern Italy, we see that the idea that these Jewish captives brought an Italian version into Babylon seems quite plausible. Epstein, in his article in the *Hagoren*, considers ארץ אדום as יון, Greece, whereas it rather means Italy, as Rab Hai Gaon always referred to Italy as ארץ אדום.

Whatever the history of the second version of the *Hilkot Gedolot* may have been, and whatever the origin of its existence in Babylon, according to Hai Gaon, it was prepared in Italy. This can be seen from another statement of Hai Gaon: (*ibid.*) אי נמי אינש אחרינא כתב בשמו אחר ק' שנים אחר שבאו מאדום לבבל. The addition of one hundred years to the time of Rab Jehudai Gaon, exactly corresponds to the period we are now discussing. R. Yehudai died in 763, while the Arabian attacks on Southern Italy took place in 863–864, and at that time a closer relationship between Italy and Babylon can already be noticed.

In that period halakic communications were exchanged between Rome and the Gaon Rab Sar Shalom (853–863) at Sura. And although the Roman decisions are not accepted,—as is evident from the statement of Isaac b. Meir of Dueren (*Shaare Dura*, 81) ולא קיי"ל כבני רומי שהשיבו לרב שר שלום גאון,—still it proves that in the ninth century there were Jewish scholars in Italy, who devoted themselves to the study of the Talmud and the Jewish law.

At the same time Abu Aaron came to Italy (between 850 and 886), and his presence there seemed to have made a

lasting impression upon Italian Jewry. However, both the coming of Abu Aaron to Italy, and the development of a closer relationship between Italy and Babylon,—did not loosen the old bond that existed between Italy and Palestine.

Especially when the later Geonim, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, adopted the Arabic language for their scholarly and halakic writings, the Italian scholars clung steadfastly to the Hebrew language, which served to strengthen their bond with the Holy Land, and re-create the love and devotion Italian Jewry bore for Palestine; this is shown by the writings of Sabbatai Donolo and Meshullam b. Kalonymus.

The intellectual activity among the Jews of Italy may throw light upon the story of the four captives by Abraham Ibn Daud, and will uphold the opinion of the scholars who consider Ḥushiel a native of Southern Italy.[41]

In this connection it will be interesting to note that the commentary of R. Ḥananel, son of R. Ḥushiel, which the Italian Jews studied with such great zeal, was preserved only in Rome, namely, in the Vatican and Angelica libraries.

CHAPTER VIII

SYNAGOGUAL RIVALRY BETWEEN ITALY AND BABYLON

With the advance of Jewish learning in Italy, it began to look for a time as if Italy were going to become a rival of Babylon in the field of liturgy, and consequently Babylonians became jealous of this Italian supremacy and endeavored to counteract it.

In the *Temim De'im* by Abraham ben David of Pousquieres, chapter 119, we find a very important Responsum

[41] S. Schechter, *JQR*, XI, 649, and Eppenstein, *Beiträge*, 174.

on Tekiot[42] ascribed to Hai Gaon, which shows the rather tense relations that existed between the Babylonian and Italian scholars at that time.

The Responsum deals with a question on Tekiot, and because of its importance I quote it at length:

. . . ירושה משולשת מועתקת ומקובלת בקבלה מאבות לבנים . . . מה שאנו עושים שתוקעים מיושב כמנהג ותוקעין מעומד על סדר ברכות ג' של ג', הלכה הולכת ופשוטה היא בכל ישראל. וכיון שמעשה הזה בידינו נכון והלכה למשה מסיני כי יצאו ידי חובתם כבר סר כל קושיא. ואם יאמר אדם אם תש"ת העיקר הרי תר"ת בטלה ואם תר"ת העיקר הרי תשר"ת בטלה? תחלת תשובתנו לומר מנין אנו יודעים כי יש עלינו מצוה לתקוע ביום זה ועיקר התורה הכתובה מנין אנו יודעים כי היא תורת משה שנכתבה מפי הגבורה אלא מפי עם ישראל? הנה אלו המעידים עלי' גם הם מעידים כי במעשה זה יצאנו ידי חובתנו. . . והוצרכנו בדברים אלו בתשובה זאת . . . כי רוב שאלות אלו תואנות הם . . . וכבר פירשנו לאלוף קדוש נ"ע כי שברים ותרועה אחת הם. . . ודבר זה עיקר, וכל השבושים שהחכמים הבאים מרומי משבשים אתכם . . . הרי נסתלק ספק ולא נשארה תואנה . . . וסר מה שהכבדתם והרחבתם דברים . . . ובניתם בנינים שלא על יסוד. ואמרתם במלכיות תשר"ת או התש"ת או התר"ת הם עיקר הלא תמצאו שלא תקענו במלכיות כלל וכן בזכרונות וכן בשופרות והכבדתם ואמרתם נמצאו ב' ברכות בלא תקיעה . . . כל אלו דברי קנתורין ותואנות . . .

A question was asked of Rab Hai Gaon as to whether it was necessary, while blowing the Shofar at the 'Amidah, to repeat TShRT, (Tekiah, Shebarim, Teruah, Tekiah), TShT (Tekiah, Shebarim, Tekiah), and TRT (Tekiah, Teruah, Tekiah) at Malkuyyot, Zikronot and Shofarot. The unknown writer of this query did not fail to mention that the

[42] This Responsum is also cited in Rapoport's Hai Gaon (*Bikkure ha-Ittim*), 1830, p. 90, note 16, also in Müller's *Mafteaḥ liteshubot ha-Geonim*; p. 2, but unless one reads the Responsum in its entirety as given in *Temim De'im*, he will not understand what is said in *Bikkure ha-Ittim*. The Responsum is also mentioned by Rabbenu Asher, Rosh ha-Shanah 34.

Italian scholars preferred this manner of blowing the Shofar, rather than the Babylonian custom of sounding TShRT at Malkuyyot, TShT at Zikronot, and TRT at Shofarot. In his Responsum, Hai Gaon defended the Babylonian custom, and used harsh expressions against the Italian scholars.

This Responsum shows us what Hai Gaon thought of Italian Jewry. We note with surprise that he says that teachings spread by Roman scholars are "errors that lead you astray." Is there any foundation for this statement? Or are we entitled to assume that a feeling of jealousy caused this indictment of the scholars of Italy?

What was the real issue in this controversy about the blowing of the Shofar? The earlier authorities tell us nothing about it, and for the lack of any contemporary Italian references, we must seek information elsewhere.

R. Isaiah di Trani in the beginning of the 13th century deals with this problem, and his words throw light on this controversy. He denounces the custom of sounding TShRT for Malkuyyot, TShT for Zikronot, and TRT for Shofarot, saying that such a usage is very wrong, and makes the Tekiot at the 'Amidah almost worthless—כמה נראה לי מנהג זה רע שכשאתה תוקע למלכיות קשר"ק כאלו לא עשית כלום וכן קש"ק לזכרונות וכן קר"ק לשופרות ויותר טוב שלא לעשותן כלל אלא כיון שאנו עושין אותו כדי לשומען על סדר הברכות הנכון הוא לעשות קשר"ק קש"ק קר"ק למלכיות וכן לזכרונות וכן לשופרות ואם מפני טורח הציבור כל הקרובה שאנו אומרים אין חוששין לטורח צבור ובשעה קלה של התקיעות חוששין וכיון שהברכות אינן מעכבות את התקיעות אותן של הישיבה הן העיקר וכיון שבירך על אותן של ישיבה אין צריך לחזור ולברך על אותן של עמידה שאינן אלא לשומען על סדר ברכות... Comp. Shibbale ha-Leket, ch. 301. It is possible that this custom of Isaiah di Trani to sound TShRT, TShT and TRT three times each during the 'Amidah, was prevalent in Italy several centuries before his day, that is, in Hai's time. The

arguments of di Trani are essentially those of the man who asked the question recorded in *Temim De'im*, and it was from Italy that this custom spread to the rest of the Diaspora, and found universal acceptance. It is also possible that this Italian custom primarily originated in Palestine, since this usage is based on R. Abuhu's ordinance in Caeserea, Palestine (comp. b. Rosh ha-Shanah, 34a), אחקין רבי אבוהו בקיסרי תקיעה שלשה שברים תרועה תקיעה, and only the Babylonian Amoraim, Rab Avira and Rabina, objected to it.

It is to be regretted that we do not know to whom, or to what country Hai's Responsum was directed; Rapoport's opinion, accepted by Poznanski in his article in Harkavy's *Festschrift* 206, that the questioner was R. Jacob b. Nissim from Kairawan, has not been proven as yet. It is possible that the Responsum was directed to France, since this custom actually prevailed in France according to the testimony of the Manhig, *Hilkot* R. H. Kelal 20. Moreover, this Responsum is taken from a French collection (*Temim De'im*). We may go still further and maintain that R. Tam, who propounded queries to the scholars of Rome, received also this Minhag from them, and had it introduced in his country. In contravention of the old Minhag which was followed "throughout the world and in the two Yeshibot" to sound TShRT, TShT, and TRT but once, R. Tam had the courage to introduce the more recent Italian Minhag. It is interesting to note that R. Tam met the Italian custom only half way; he considered the Italian usage the right one, but probably fearing that the Italian Minhag in its totality would meet with opposition in France, he only introduced the sounding of TShṚT for all three parts, Malkuyyot, Zikronot and Shofarot.

Thus, what was right in the eyes of R. Tam, was pronounced "an error" by Hai Gaon. Now, what was the motive underlying Hai's antagonistic statement?

The Megillat Ebiathar, for whose discovery we are indebted to S. Schechter, tends to lead us on the right track. We have learned from this Megillah that already in the tenth century, when the Babylonian Gaonate was still powerful, there had sprung up in Palestine great academies whose heads signed themselves with the title, "Rosh Yeshibat Geon Jacob" ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב. In the course of time, especially after the heated controversy between Ben Meir and Saadia Gaon in 921, these institutions became more and more consolidated and subsequently gave rise to a full-fledged Palestinian Gaonate, a worthy rival of the great Babylonian Gaonate.

When Hai Gaon assumed office (998–1038) the Palestinian Gaonate was a *fait accompli*. Throughout the Diaspora, including even Germany,[43] Jews began to show great respect for the Geonim of Palestine, sending them their questions and receiving their responsa.

It was quite natural, that as soon as Palestine cast off the authority of the Babylonian Geonim, Italy should do likewise. As soon as Babylon lost its hold on Jewry at large, Italy made ready to take its place as leader of the Diaspora. We have already seen how questions from France and Germany were dispatched to Rome, and Hai Gaon was constrained to watch the ground slip from beneath the Babylonian Gaonate.

Hai Gaon could perhaps overlook the growth of the Gaonate in Palestine, but could hardly be expected to tolerate a rival Gaonate in Italy. For this reason no doubt he became guilty of hard expressions against the Italian

[43] See Buechler *REJ.* 237 and Marx *JQR.* N. S. I. 75.

scholars, who presumptuously began to assume Geonic authority.[44] All these scholars lived in Italy during the 10th and 11th centuries and were the first in Europe to bear the title Gaon. The Gaonate in Egypt began, as we know, in the latter half of the 11th century and continued until the end of the 12th (1063–1194).

It might be objected to this hypothesis that the rabbis of Italy never signed themselves with the title Gaon but were only called so by others; furthermore, that this title was not conferred upon them by any authoritative institution or by the Exilarch. As to the former, it might be said that very seldom did the Geonim of Babylonia who were authorized by the Exilarch or the Yeshibot sign themselves "Gaon," but "Resh Metibta." As to the latter, it might be asked: From whom did the Geonim of Palestine receive the title Rosh Yeshibat Geon Jacob? And for that matter

[44] The title Gaon was attached to Ḥananel Gaon (*Sefer ha-Ittim* of R. Judah b. Barzillai Albargeloni, p. 7, and his commentary on the Sefer Yezirah 22); R. Jacob Gaon Resh Metibta de Mata Romi (see Agudah 172; Or Zarua II, 125b, in connection with circumcision on New Year, whether it should be before or after the sounding of the ram's horn: ואני הקטן מצאתי סמך לדבריהם בתשובת הגאונים רבי' אלעזר בר' יהודה ורבנא קלונימוס הזקן איש רומי בן רבנא שבתי בבואו למדינת נרמיישא לאחר פטירת רבי יעקב בר יקר זצ"ל, שאלו ממנו דבר זה. והוציא חותם עדות קודש והראה מכתב שכבר נשאל שאלה זו במתא רומי וכת' בו שאל מר שלמה היצחקי מן רבנא מרנא רב נתן נאון . . . ומן מר דניאל אחיו ומן מר אברהם אחיו והשיבו גם הם שכבר נשאלה בבית מדרשו של אביהם מר יחיאל נאון והשיב בשם מר יעקב נאון ריש מתיבתא דמתא רומי דמנהג כשר הוא... Vogelstein-Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, I, 220; Poznanski, *Babylonische Geonim*, 107); in the 10th century; R. Jeḥiel b. Abraham Gaon—father of Nathan, author of the Aruk,—(Kohut's Introd. X); R. Kalonymus Gaon of Lucca (Rashi Zebaḥim 45b; see Poznanski *ibid.* 108); R. Meshullam b. Kalonymus Gaon (Rashi Sabbath 73b); Sabbatai Gaon (Rashi Beza 35a, according to S. Sachs's explanation in *Kerem Ḥemed* VIII 101, whereby the words of Rashi כך שמעתי כמו שמצאתי בפיוט יוצר שיסד אחד מגאוני לומברדיאה are to be amended thus ... the original copyist's error having originated from בפירוש יצירה שיסד the abbreviated writing כ"ש בפי' יציר' שיסד). R. Moses of Pavia Gaon (Semag, V. terefot; see also Hurwitz, Introd. to Maḥzor Vitry 39, and *Sefer ha-Yashar* 362) and R. Nathan b. Jeḥiel Gaon (see Poznanski, *ibid.*).

who conferred the title Gaon on the Egyptian scholars? Certainly not the Babylonian academies! The mere fact that the scholars of Palestine called themselves by this name is sufficient indication that the purpose of the heads of the Palestinian academies was to throw off the yoke of Babylon and to protest against the monopoly of the Gaonate in Babylon, and this example was followed in Italy and Egypt.

We cannot deny that the Gaonates of Palestine, Italy and other countries, were much inferior to the Babylonian Gaonate. But whereon were the authority and importance of the Gaonate in general based? On the fact that after the destruction of the spiritual centre in Palestine the scholars in Babylon succeeded in creating such a centre in Babylon. So when in Palestine, Italy and other countries, in consequence of the growth of the Jewish population, communities were organized and academies were founded and scholars arose as well qualified as the Babylonian Geonim, there was no longer any need for dependence upon Babylon, and little by little the ties that kept the other countries bound to Babylon became loosened. Subsequently the title Gaon lost its importance altogether, so that Maimonides in his commentary to Bekorot (ed. Loewenstein, p. 22) styles it "a mere name" (פטומי שמא בעלמא).

Desperately did the last Geonim of Babylon, Nehemiah, Sherira, Samuel b. Hophni and Hai fight for the preservation of the old spiritual centre. But history knows no mercy: Quietly the Babylonian academies lost their prestige and finally disappeared, while new centres arose in western European countries. In all these centres the dominant force was lodged in the synagogues, which encompassed the whole life of the Jews in its various phases.

Just as the Talmud developed and spread in two channels, east and west, so also the liturgy was divided into two main

streams. Though the Palestinian Talmud never became authoritative against the Babylonian, the Palestinian liturgy was destined to be accepted in Italy, Greece, Germany and France, even in Egypt, against the Babylonian, owing to the zealous activity of the scholars of Rome. The Babylonian rite, on the other hand, was accepted in the main in Spain, Portugal and the southern countries. Thus while the old rivalry was forgotten its effect and consequences remained in the various rituals until our own time.

Though time and locality have worked many changes in the Minhagim of the countries following the Palestinian rite, still the inner kernel and soul of the Palestinian ritual prevailed in these countries.[45] Even the Sephardic ritual has been changed from what it was, and in its present shape must have been greatly influenced by the Palestinian.

CHAPTER IX

SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPAIN AND BABYLON

THE origin of the Jewish settlement in Spain is still obscure, and cannot be dated with certainty. The various traditions about the first Jewish settlements in Spain are based on very slender foundations, and are interwoven with many legends. It is probable, however, that with the establishment of the Roman republic and with the conquest of Spain by the Romans, some Jews were sent to Spain and later settled there.

Rabbi Akiba, in his wide and important travels to Africa and the Roman provinces at the beginning of the Second Century, C. E., did not deem it necessary to visit Spanish Jewry; and yet, Spain was not quite unknown to the Rabbis

[45] See *Sefer ha-Yashar* by Rabbenu Tam ch. 619 שהרי כמה דברים קבלה בידינו כגון עבור ותקון תפלות וברכות... ודברים אלו על פי מדרשים ותלמוד ירושלמי....

of the Mishnah, who considered it a very distant country, one year's journey from Palestine—אר"י לא אמרו שלש שנים אלא כדי שיהא באספמיא ויחזיק שנה וילכו ויודיעוהו שנה ויבא לשנה אחרת (Mishnah BB. III, 2).

However, the earliest historical records we possess about the Jewish settlements in Spain are dated 313 C. E. and are found in the decisions of the synod of Elviria (comp. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I, 3; and Görres, *Das Judentum im Westgotischen Spanien*, *ZWT*, 1905, 353–361). At that time, traces of a slowly growing spiritual influence of Babylon upon Spain can already be noticed; it was the period of the later Amoraim, Abaye (d. 338) and Raba (d. 352).

In vain have Jewish scholars labored for generations to penetrate to the roots of the Spanish ritual from the time prayers came to be written, until the 11th century, when prayer-manuals came into vogue wherever Jews were scattered.

The fact that the Seder Rab Amram was known as the very first prayer-manual sent to Spain from Babylon, was the source of great confusion among Jewish scholars as they began to compare the Seder Rab Amram with the Sephardic rite (first published in 1524). They were surprised when they perceived that the Seder Rab Amram which was sent to Spain, did not entirely correspond with the Sephardic Ritual. Some scholars, notably Rapoport, expressed the view that the Seder Rab Amram was not adopted in Spain, but in Germany, as the German ritual bears a close resemblance to it.

But while Rapoport in spite of this view, inclines to the belief that the Palestinian ritual was transplanted to Italy, while in Spain they used the old Babylonian ritual previously known to them through correspondence between Spanish scholars and the Babylonian Geonim, a scholar of our

days, Moses Gaster, reverses the order[46] on account of the following considerations alluded to above: If it be true that the text of the Spanish ritual differs from that of the Seder Rab Amram while that of the German ritual is more in accord with it, we must infer that the German ritual is of Babylonian and the Spanish ritual of Palestinian origin. But this reasoning does not accord with the known facts. Spanish Jewry was always dependent upon Babylon, not upon Palestine; questions and responses made their way between these two countries as was pointed out above. Even the *Seder Meah Berakot* of R. Natronai b. Hilai was sent by its author to the community of Lucena in Spain, at the request of Mar Rab Joseph (see the letter of Rab Amram Gaon in his Siddur).[47]

We know that the old Babylonian customs were so rooted in Spain, that the Jews could not easily be made to give them up.

But at an earlier period than that of Natronai bar Hilai Gaon (853), even at the time of the later Amoraim, we find a close spiritual relationship between Babylon and Spain, which indicates the former's influence upon the West, or "the farthest limits of the world," מסוף העולם ועד סופו, as the Talmudic Rabbis liked to call this country.

An interesting event, which throws light upon this early spiritual relationship between Babylon and Spain, is recorded in the Talmud. We read in Yebamot 115b, that Isaac the Exilarch, the nephew of Rab Bebe died on the way while traveling from Cortova to Aspamia יצחק ריש גלותא בר אחתיה דרב ביבי הוה קאזיל מקורטבא לאספמיא ושכיב. The following

[46] In his introduction to the סדר התפלות כמנהג ק"ק ספרדים (London), p. XIV.

[47] See also *JQR.* XVIII, p. 399, anent the epistle from Pumbeditha to Spain, found in the Genizah fragments of the Bodleian collection: וגם בכמה עתים היו שולחים אל אספמיא בשאלותיהם בימי חכמי הוראה אנשי משנה והיו משיבים וגם היו שואלים אותם.

question was then submitted before the Babylonian Amoraim: "Word has been received that Isaac the Exilarch, nephew of Rab Bebe, died on his way from Cortova to Aspamia; shall we suspect that it was a case of mistaken identity, and that the dead person was another Isaac, or not? שלחו מהתם יצחק ריש גלותא בר אחתיה דרב ביבי הוה קאזיל מקורטבא לאספמיא ושכיב מי חיישינן לתרי יצחק או לא. The two Amoraim, Abaye and Raba, took up this problem. Abaye was of the opinion that a thorough investigation should be made, in order to establish the identity of the dead man, while Raba considered the report received from Aspamia sufficient identification אביי אמר חיישינן רבא אמר לא חיישינן.

Upon reading this passage, a number of questions arise: Who was Isaac the Exilarch, and what brought him to Cortova? Shall we assume that by Aspamia was meant Spain, or some other country? And does Cortova mean Cordova, or some other city?

Rapoport's suggestion (*Erech Millin*, p. 310) that the Aspamia referred to in this Talmudical passage is identical with Appamia, a city in Syria, and that Cortova is none other than Cartara, a city in Mesopotamia, is hardly correct or plausible. Nor can we accept S. Funck's assumption (*Die Juden in Babylonien*, II. Teil, 146, Note VI) that Aspamia is a place situated in the very distant Media.

Samuel Hanagid (993–1056) who lived at the time of the last Geonim, and who witnessed the downfall of the Gaonate in 1038, offers a clue to the solution of this problem. In his book, הלכתא גבורתא, Samuel Hanagid makes the following statement, as quoted by Judah Albargeloni (*Sefer ha-Ittim*, 179): "Spain was a center of learning . . . and the Jews of Spain never neglected the Targum or the Talmud, and they were well versed in these subjects, even from the days of Isaac the Exilarch, the nephew of Rab Bebe, who died in Spain, between Cortova and Aspamia שבספרד מקום ריבוץ . . .

תורה היה מזמן בית ראשון מגלות ירושלים עד עכשיו. . . .ומעולם לא הניחו התרגום ולא דבר אחד מטעמי התלמוד שהיו ערוכין בפיהן מיצחק ריש גלותא בר אחתיה דרב ביבי דשכיב בספרד בין קורטבא לאספמיא.

And if Samuel Hanagid, statesman and Vizir in Spain did not question the fact that Isaac died in Spain between Cortova and Aspamia, surely we need not doubt its possibility.

Also Albargeloni himself, in his commentary to the Sefer Yezirah, mentions that the Exilarch Isaac, nephew of Rab Bebe, transplanted the study of the Talmud from Babylon to Spain (comp. Jacob Schorr's Introduction to the *Sefer ha-Ittim*, p. 10–11). There is no doubt that Samuel Hanagid, as well as Albargeloni refer to the same Exilarch Isaac, of whom the Talmudical passage under discussion (Yebamot, 115b) makes mention.

In this Talmudical passage we can find further corroboration of our opinion about the relationship between Spain and Babylon at this early period, when Spain was under the Roman, and Babylon was under the Sassanian rule.

In Babylon, the times were not favorable for the Exilarchs. Particularly under Shapur II (310–379), when a strong nationalistic policy was adopted by Persia, and the old Persian customs and ceremonies were revived in an attempt to Persianize the various peoples of the country,—the Exilarchs lived through hard times, trying to please the government on one hand, and to satisfy their Jewish conscience and religion on the other. They finally came to be regarded unfavorably and with disapproval by the official court, who strongly objected to a "Kingdom within a Kingdom," as they probably came to regard an Exilarchate.

Raba, however, became persona grata at the royal court, and it was due to his influence that Ifra Hormizd, the King's mother, saved many an unpleasant situation for the Jews (b. Taanit, 24b; b. Baba B., 10b; b. Zebaḥim, 116b).

Thus it might have happened that during the reign of Shapur II, Isaac the Exilarch, who seems to have been a great Talmudical scholar, was forced to leave Babylon and seek refuge in Spain. Upon the Exilarch's departure from Babylon, Raba and Abaye became the leading figures in Babylonian Jewish life. This explains the reason why the secret dispatch from Palestine, containing also the news about the calendar arrangement, was addressed to Raba and not to the Resh Galutha זוג בא מרקת . . . ועמוסי יריכי נחשון בקשו לקבוע נציב אחד ולא הניחן אדומי הלז, אבל בעלי אסופות נאספו וקבעו לו נציב אחד בירח שמת בו אהרן הכהן.—The phrases בקשו לקבוע נציב אחד and וקבעו לו נציב אחד refer, as we know, to the additional month added to the calendar in arranging the leap year (b. Sanhedrin, 12a).

Thus, we can further assume, that, upon leaving Babylon in those days of strife, Isaac the Exilarch first went to Cortova, which was then the capital of Baetica, a Romanized province in Southern Spain. He tried to settle there, and perhaps even made an attempt to establish in Cortova an academy for Jewish learning (both Samuel Hanagid and Judah Albargeloni mention in their writings that Isaac spread Jewish learning in Spain). We do not know why he left Cortova. It is probable, however, that since Baetica was a Senatorial province without troops, it could not offer the Exilarch the protection he needed. He consequently decided to leave for another province in Spain. The Aspamia of the Talmud may have been Tarraconensis, an imperial province, which was administered by legates. On his way to 'Aspamia' he died, or, quite possibly, was killed by the Roman troops, who were suspicious of this Persian Jew who came to a Roman province, at a time when the Roman-Persian war was already in the air.

We can now understand why Raba, well-acquainted as he was with the situation at the Persian Court, said לא

חיישינן upon receiving the detailed report of the Exilarch's death, since he had no doubt that the dead man was the same Isaac of Babylon (comp. Raba's proof in Yebamot, 115b); while Abaye, who was probably not quite so familiar with the circumstances of the Exilarch's departure from Babylon, was of the opinion—חיישינן—that further investigation to ascertain the dead man's identity should be made, before Isaac the Exilarch's wife could be granted permission to re-marry. Isaac's exilarchate was very short, and can probably be placed between the exilarchates of Mar Ukban III and Mar Huna III.

This will explain many of the peculiarities of the Talmudic passage in Yebamot 115b, which led Rapoport to change the two names mentioned there, namely, Cortova and Aspamia, to Cartara and Appamia. (comp. also Jacob Schorr, ibid).

The fact, however, remains, that there was a Jewish colony in Spain, and that the Babylonian Jews endeavored to keep in constant touch with that distant Jewish community. The contact between the Jewish communities of Babylon and Spain became even closer when Spain came under Mohammedan regime in 711; this close relationship lasted until the time of the last Geonim.

This discussion sufficiently proves that the Babylonian Halakot were firmly implanted in the Jewish community of Spain, from its very establishment until the close of the Gaonate.

We should now like to refer to another important responsum cited by Rabbenu Asher to Rosh ha-Shanah, chapter IV, 14, which will show us how deeply Babylonian customs were rooted in Spain. The responsum deals with the custom that prevailed in the two academies and throughout Babylonia, that on New Year's day, at the Musaf 'Amidah, the congregation recited but seven benedictions, while the pre-

. . . נהגו בשחי ישיבות ובכולהו בבל שמתפללין centor recited nine הצבור רק שבע ברכות וש"ץ יורד ואומר תשע.

R. Isaac Gayyat, speaking of this Babylonian custom, quotes also from the responsa of Natronai and Rab Amram, Rab Sherira and his son Rab Hai, and some other Geonim, to the effect that "all of them thus said and thus testified," וכולם כך אמרו וכן העידו, namely, that the congregation recited only seven benedictions, and the ש"ץ nine; but his, R. Isaac's, personal opinion is as follows: "We have received it from great scholars and teachers and practical men, who received it from scholars like Rab Samuel ha-Levi, who, in turn, received it from Rab Hanoch and his contemporary elders, that we should invariably recite nine benedictions,—and thus it is taught and practiced"—ואנו קבלנו מחכמים גדולים ובעלי הוראה ואנשי מעשה שקבלו הם מחכמים שלפניהם כגון רב שמואל הלוי שקבלו מן רב חנוך וזקנים שבדור הלכה למעשה שאין מתפללין ז' אלא ט' וכן מורין ועושין. With reference to this statement, Naḥmanides said (quoted by R. Asher, *ibid.*): "Though the Rabbi's arguments are correct, nevertheless, since the Geonim testify that such was never the custom at the Yeshibah, but that invariably the individual worshipper recited seven benedictions and the precentor recited nine,—we must accept their testimony, for the Geonim received it from the Saboraim, these from the Amoraim, and the traditions of the Amoraim go back to Rab Ashi, in whose synagogue they used to pray; furthermore, this usage was in vogue among the majority of Jews . . . To this custom have I given my attention, and so it is right." . . . באמת שטענותיו של הרב גדולות הם אבל כיון שהגאונים מעידים ואומרים שמעולם לא נעשה כן בישיבה (אלא) שהיחידים אומרים שבע ושליח צבור יורד ואומר תשע וכך מנהגם מעולם ע"כ יש לנו לקבל עדותם שהגאונים קבלו מרבנן סבוראי ורבנן סבוראי מרבנן אמוראי ובישיבתן על כסא של רב אשי הן יושבים ובבהכ"נ שלו היו מתפללין. ועוד שהיה מנהגם פשוט ברוב ישראל . . .

Rabbenu Asher's opinion, on the other hand, is as follows (*ibid.*): "I do not understand these words . . . for since they authorized nine benedictions to be said in the Musaf of Rosh ha-Shanah, they are equal to the seven benedictions of the Sabbaths and holidays . . . and we must recite all of them, for if we recite only seven, all of them have been pronounced in vain . . . . and the usage of our forefathers is law, and must not be changed"—ולא הבנתי . . . הדברים הללו . . . דכיון שתקנו שבע ברכות לאומרן במוסף של ר"ה . . . הן כמו שבע של שבתות וימים טובים . . . וצריכים להתפלל כולן דאם התפללו שבע יהו כולן לבטלה כיון שמחסר מן הברכה ומנהג אבותינו תורה היא ואין לשנות. Zeraḥiah ha-Levi, author of *ha-Maor*, (in his commentary to Tractate Rosh ha-Shanah, towards the end) says, with reference to Rabbi Isaac Gayyat's statement: "Be not surprised at our statement that the customs of later generations differ from those of the earlier generations; for I remember, that in my childhood I saw all the congregations recite seven benedictions in the Musaf, the precentor alone reciting nine. They found precedent for their custom in the usage of the academies of the Geonim, for thus they found it written in their books, and thus you will find it in the Halakot of R. Isaac b. Gayyat of blessed memory. And now all have begun reciting nine benedictions" ואל תחמה על מה שאמרנו שנשתנו המנהגות בדורות האחרונים מדורות הראשונים כי אני זכור כי ראיתי בילדותי כל הצבור מתפללין במוספין שבע וש"ץ לבדו היה מתפלל תשע והיו תולין מנהגם במנהגי ישיבות הגאונים כי כן מצאו כתוב בספריהם וכן תמצא בהלכות ה"ר יצחק בן גיאת ועכשיו חזרו הכל להיות מתפללים תשע ברכות.

This responsum is certainly of great importance. It shows how deeply Babylonian customs had entered into the life of the Jews in Spain. During the 12th century, when synagogual manuals were being composed, and the historical development of liturgy began to assume a clearer aspect, we see R. Isaac Ibn Gayyat, Zeraḥiah ha-Levi and

Naḥmanides discussing whether to change one of the Babylonian customs and accept a Palestinian in its stead. For, doubtless, reciting seven benedictions on New Year in private devotion, was originally a Babylonian usage, since we see that Babylonian authorities strongly recommend it; only gradually, with the approval of great Rabbis, did the custom, of reciting nine benedictions even in private devotion, assume greater currency, and finally every one recited nine benedictions.

It is fortunate that this responsum was preserved, and has thus enabled us to gain a clear insight into the early development of the Sephardic ritual. The fact, that some Palestinian rites met with such intense opposition upon their entrance into Spain, clearly proves that the Babylonian ritual was firmly rooted there. Without this responsum one might have adduced even the Halakah under discussion as evidence that the Spanish custom had its origin in Palestine, since the Spanish ritual, like the Palestinian, prescribes nine benedictions to be recited by the congregation, and is, therefore, not in accord with the Seder Rab Amram, where we read: "And where there is a precentor they begin to pray, the individual reciting seven benedictions"—ובמקום שיש שליח צבור עומדין בתפלה ומתפללין ביחיד שבע ברכות (ed. Coronel 46); however, we see from the above discussion that this Palestinian custom was not readily accepted by Spanish Jewry, and it took a long time until this custom was practiced in Spain.

Our responsum throws light on another important point, namely, that in Germany (contrary to Dr. Gaster's view) Palestinian usages were preferred to Babylonian. Asher, speaking of the Minhag in Germany, where the custom of nine benedictions had not been changed, says: "The cus-

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toms of our fathers is law, and should not be changed" ומנהג אבותינו תורה היא ואין לשנות. This shows that the German Jews adhered, in general, to the Palestinian ritual.

While we cannot assert that the tradition received through "Rab Hanoch and the elders" was Italian, and that this decision came from Italy to Germany,—though such a conjecture is within the range of possibility,—still, we shall not err, if we assume that Rab Hanoch and the elders received this halakah from Palestine, and thence it came by way of Italy to Germany, and finally also was adopted by the Spanish Jews.

Judging then from the influence that Babylon exerted upon Spain, nothing appears more reasonable, than to look for the Babylonian ritual in the Spanish Jewish liturgy, and for the Palestinian ritual in the Italian liturgy.

CHAPTER X

CRITERIA FOR THE PALESTINIAN RITE

We have already pointed out that the Italian rite is identical with the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot. Now in looking for traces of Palestinian influence in the SḤB, it is meet to find out also the influence of the Palestinian rite on other rites than the Italian, particularly the Sephardic. Our investigations must be along these two lines:

1.—To collate the Italian and Sephardic rites and to see how and wherein they coincide or differ. The differences ought to yield the Palestinian rite.

2.—In investigating the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot in itself to consider separately its component elements, the halakic rules, the prayers, the piyyutim—whereby we may reach a correct answer as to the genesis of the Italian Maḥzor and its inner development.

How can we find traces of the Palestinian ritual? A complete collection of it has not come down to us from antiquity. Passages from it are scattered here and there in both Talmudim, in the Midrashim, in the Pesiktot, in *Masseket Soferim*, in some responsa of the Geonim; some excerpts have been preserved in the Siddur of Saadia Gaon; the Genizah likewise yielded some important texts, such as the Eighteen Benedictions published by S. Schechter and others not yet published. Zeraḥiah ha-Levi in his *Maor*, Jacob ben Asher in the *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, Abraham Klausner in his *Sefer Minhagim*, Aaron the Priest of Lunel in his *Orḥot Ḥayyim* and the author of the *Migdal Oz* sometimes quote variants from the Palestinian ritual. R. Solomon Luria, in his *Yam shel Shelomoh*, towards the end of Baba Kama, mentions about fifty variant customs that he had excerpted from two halakic collections, including ten connected with prayers and benedictions. Müller, in his *Ḥilluf ha-Minhagim*, adds some more from *Masseket Soferim*, from Parḥi's *Kaphtor Vapheraḥ*, and Rapoport's *Erech Millin*, etc. However, all these excerpts and quotations do not give us even a general picture of the Palestinian ritual.

Let us examine some prayers which we suppose to be Palestinian, and see whether they are found in either the Italian ritual, or in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot. Naturally, in such a comparison, the Seder Rab Amram, as the oldest Seder, will be taken into consideration.

1. *The benediction* מגביה שפלים appears to be Palestinian, since it is found in the Seder of Saadia Gaon, the Italian Maḥzor, and the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, but is conspicuous by its absence in the Babylonian Talmud. For this reason Rab Amram omitted it, likewise the Sephardic rite and the Manhig, which follow Rab Amram.

That it is found in Natronai's Seder,[48] is no proof of its

[48] Ginzberg, *Geonica* II, p. 115.

Babylonian origin, for the fact is that not all Babylonian synagogues followed the Babylonian rite. After all, some Palestinian usages managed to creep into the Babylonian synagogues. Hence we find, that though the benediction עוטר ישראל בתפארה is rejected by Natronai and Amram (*Shibbale ha-Leket*, IV), the custom to recite it was current in Spain, and probably also in some synagogues in Babylonia (to which some of the Babylonian Geonim adhered).

2. *The Song of the Red Sea*, שירת הים. With reference to rounding up the Pesuke de-Zimrah with the Song of the Red Sea, there is a responsum in Maḥzor Vitry (p. 226) sent by the community of Rome (on Shirat ha-Yam, i. e. Wayosha): "Know ye that Shirat Ha-Yam has been our custom, the custom of all the community of Rome and of all the communities in our vicinity, and of all the communities in Spain, from the days of the exile from Jerusalem until now, to say it all the year through, every day except the Ninth of Ab . . . and the custom of our fathers is law. And in many passages of the Palestinian Talmud our Rabbis say that a custom annuls a halakah מנהג מבטל את ההלכה and especially this thing which does not contradict any halakah and of which there is no mention in the whole Talmud, and which our Rabbis accustomed us to say, because it was our duty to say the zemirot, as R. Jose said: May my lot be among those who recite Hallel every day יהי חלקי מגומרי הלל בכל יום which applies to Pesuke de Zimrah. And therefore our Rabbis made it a rule to say with them this song which deals with the fall of our enemies and gives praise to the worker of miracles and to bless His name before them and after them, before them referring to Baruk Sheamar, and after them to Yishtabbaḥ; hence it is not proper to omit it except on the Ninth day of Ab, since that is the day of destruction. May God in His mercy reestablish us and reerect the fallen tabernacle of David. And

there were some who wished to say it even in the house of mourning, claiming it was not proper to omit it, but they could not on account of the custom. And as to the statement in some prayer books that the Shirah is not to be recited on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, it was meant only with reference to Hallel, namely, that Hallel is not to be recited on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, but Shirat ha-Yam is incumbent upon us to say, and may the Holy One enlighten our eyes with the light of the Torah. Thus far the Responsum."

תשובה שהשיבו קהל רומא על שירת הים דהיינו ויושע. דעו כי שירת הים היה מנהגנו מנהג כל קהל רומא ומנהג כל קהילות אשר סביבותינו. ומנהג כל כל קהילות אשר בספרד מיום גלות ירושלים ועד עתה לומרה כל השנה כולה בכל יום ויום זולתי תשעה באב בלבד. שאין אומרי' אותה משום אבל. וכן בבית האבל אינו אומ' אותה כל שבעה ימים. ומנהג אבותינו תורה היא. ובכמה מקומות אמרו רבותי' בתלמוד ארץ ישראל. מנהג מבטל את ההלכה. וכל שכן דבר זה שאין הלכה סותרתו ואין לו זכר בכל התלמוד. ושנהיגו רבותי' לאומרה יען כי הזמירות חובה היה עלינו לאומרה בכל יום דא"ר יוסי יהי חלקי מנומרי הלל בכל יום. ומסקנא כי קאמרי' בפסוקי דזמרה. ולפיכך תקנו רבותינו לומר עמהם זו השירה שהיא על מפלת אויבינו. ולתת שבח למפליא פלאות ולברך את שמו לפניהם ולאחריהם. לפניהם ברוך שאמר. ולאחריהם ישתבח. הילכך אין ראוי למונעה אלא יום תשעה באב בלבד. לפי שהוא יום נפילה . . . ויש אנשים שרצו לאומרה אפילו בבית אבל. ואמרו שאין ראוי למונעה. ולא יכלו מפני המנהג. ושאמור בסידורים שאין אומרי' שירה בראש השנה וביום הכפורים לא אמרן אלא על ההלל כלומר שאין אומרים הלל בראש השנה ויום הכפורים. אבל שירת הים חובה עלינו לאומרה. והק' יאיר עינינו במאור תורה: ע"כ ת'.

This Responsum is important to us from various considerations. In the first place it shows that at that time Italian scholars were recognized as authorities in whatever pertained to the synagogual ritual and that they derived their knowledge from Palestine, as they cite in particular the Palestinian Talmud. Secondly, it is evident from this responsum that other prayer books besides those of Rab

Amram and Rab Saadia, were in vogue at this period. The following questions suggest themselves:

1st—To what country was this responsum sent?

2nd—Whence came to the Roman community the custom of reciting daily the Shirat ha-Yam between Baruk Sheamar and Yishtabbaḥ?

The fact that in the days of Natronai Gaon it was not customary to say the Shirah after Pesuke de Zimra, at least not in the principal synagogues of Babylon (according to the testimony of R. Judah Albargeloni),[48a] is in itself sufficient proof of its Palestinian origin, but the Manhig also corroborates this hypothesis. As was noticed above, the Italian scholars in dealing with the daily recital of the Shirah make an exception of the Ninth of Ab; now the Manhig in דיני תפלה (24) and in Hilkot Tisha be'Ab (28) confirms this as follows: "And so I have heard that everywhere in Palestine they skip (it on the ninth of Ab) (and) in France and in Provence" (וכן שמעתי שבארץ ישראל מדלגין בכל מקום (ו) בצרפת ופרובנצא). From this it is evident that the saying of the Shirah was a Palestinian custom.[49] In our opinion this Minhag must have come from Palestine to Italy, from Italy to Germany, from Germany to France and Provence, and possibly from there to Spain. This migration of the custom is borne out also by another witness in an old MS. from the Paris library:[50] בימי הקדמונים כשהגיעו כאן (לשם תפארתך) היה ש"ץ עומד ומתחיל ישתבח וכשבא הגאון ר' משה מלוקא בן ר' קלונימוס בימי המלך קארלא למדינת מגנצא היה מנהיג בני דורו לומר עד ושמו אחד . . . והיה זה ערך ד"א תקע"ד

[48a] In the *Sefer-ha-Ittim*, p. 249, וכתב רב נטרונאי גאון הכי ופסוקי דזמרה שאנו אומרין בכל יום כאן בשתי ישיבות אין רגילין לומר אז ישיר משה אלא לאחר שחותם על פסוקי דזמרא לאלתר חותם ופורס על שמע וכן בבית רבינו ובשאר בתי כנסיות אומר ויושע וכל השירה בכל השבתות ובכל המועדים וביוה"כ ואין ממחין בהם.

[49] Mentioned also in S. R. Saadia Gaon, see Bondi, *Der Siddur des R. Saadia Gaon*, p. 16.

[50] See *REJ* 23, 234 and *Seder Rab Amram* (ed. Frumkin), p. 172.

"In former years when this passage לשם תפארתך was reached the precentor began Yishtabbaḥ, but when R. Moses b. Kalonymus of Lucca came to Mayence during the reign of Charles, he induced his contemporaries to say the Shirah as far as ושמו אחד . . . and this was about 4574 (814 C. E.)." Here is positive proof that this usage came from Italy to Germany, and if it is also found in France and Provence, it follows necessarily that it was transplanted there from Germany. Hence the statement of R. Hirtz Treves in his commentary to the prayer book, that it came to Germany through R. Shemaiah of Soissons has no validity. In the course of time, apparently at the beginning of the thirteenth century, also the Jews of Spain adopted this custom, extending it even to the Ninth of Ab.

This is implied in the words of the Manhig:[51] "In the ritual of R. Amram the prayer goes as far as ומהללים לשם תפארתך and no further,[52] where the precentor continues with Yishtabbaḥ, but in all the congregations the Shirah is recited and it is not proper to skip it." The old custom of omitting the Shirah on the Ninth of Ab was kept up only in Italy.

3. *The custom to omit the passage* אור חדש at the end of the first Shema Benediction likewise seems to be Palestinian. Saadia upheld it, styling the saying of this passage מוציא שם שמים לבטלה or וטעות היא. Hence אור חדש is not found in the Genizah fragments, in the Italian ritual, nor in the old German and French rituals. But even in Babylon there seem to have been some synagogues that followed this

[51] Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 14.

[52] *Hilkot Tefillah* 24. There is no doubt that in the British Museum MS. of *Seder Rab Amram*, wherein the Shirah is found, it is a later addition, see Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 14, Coronel's note to p. 3, and Ginzberg, *Geonica* I, p. 127.

Palestinian custom of omitting אור חדש, since indeed, we do not find it in the Seder Rab Amram.

Prof. Ginzberg's suggestion (*Geonica*, I, 127) that the omission of אור חדש in Seder Rab Amram is a later correction to effect agreement with the text of Saadia, is hardly justified, for Natronai was also opposed to saying אור חדש, comp. the *Manhig*, Hilkot Tefillah, 31. Spain which followed the Seder Rab Amram, discarded אור חדש. Abudraham likewise ends the benediction Yoẓer Or with כאמור לעושה אורים גדולים בא"י יוצר המאורות.

The fact of the appearance of אור חדש in our Seder and in all the German prayer-books that came down to us since the twelfth century, is not surprising, considering the antiquity and merit of this prayer. It is probably due to these qualities that Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus, author of the *Rokeaḥ* (1176–1238), introduced it into Germany, comp. *Rokeaḥ*, 319. Later on R. Asher (in his Responsa, IV, 20) approves the practice of saying it. However, being aware of Saadia's objection that "we cannot say a blessing for the light that is reserved for the days of the Messiah" לפי שלא תקנו חכמים ברכה זו על אור העתיד לימות המשיח the phrase ונזכה כולנו מהרה לאורו was inserted. Since this phrase is found in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot and in the German ritual it stands to reason that it was first inserted by Menaḥem ben Solomon, and hence it came to Germany through Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus.

It is interesting that even the version of אור חדש in a Genizah fragment[53] is modified to such an extent as to exclude just such an objection as Saadia's. Witness this Genizah version, and compare with it the old Babylonian text:

[53] Comp. Elbogen, *Studien*, p. 24.

Old Babylonian Version according to the Manhig (ibid).	Genizah Fragment Taylor-Schechter, H 9 No. 17
ואור חדש בציון תכין כדבר שנאמר קומי אורי כי בא אורך וכבוד ה' עליך זרח ובדברי קדשך כתוב לאמור אל יי ויאר לנו בא"י יוצר המאורות	ואור חדש על ציון תאיר כדבר שנ' קומי אורי כי בא אורך ובדברי קדשך כתוב לאמר אל יי ויאר לנו והתקין מאורות לשמח עולם ונר משיחך תאיר לנו בקרוב ונזכה כולנו מהרה לאורו בא"י . . .

4. *The ending of the morning Geullah* at the close of Ezrat Abotenu בגלל אבות תושיע בנים ותביא גאולה לבני בניהם is probably Palestinian.

In Yer. Berakot I, 3c, discussing the Geullah in Ezrat Abotenu, R. Joshua b. Levi winds up by saying: צריך להזכיר את כולן, וצריך לומר צור ישראל וגואלו and though the Babylonian version of Raba גאל ישראל (b. Pesaḥim, 117b) was generally accepted, still the Palestinian version מלך צור ישראל וגואלו has been preserved in Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, in Maḥzor Roma and in the ritual of Germany (including Poland) for Pentecost.[54] On the other hand, the Jews of Palestine became accustomed to add בגלל אבות. This custom spread from Palestine to Italy, and hence is found in Seder Ḥibbur Berakot and Maḥzor Roma for every day.

The Babylonians objected to this custom and Rab Amram says,[55] "Nothing should be added after ה' ימלך לעולם ועד," because there are some who err and say what our sages, of blessed memory, have not prescribed here, namely, בגלל אבות. The reference here is to the sages of Palestine who added it. In Spain however, they followed Rab Amram in not saying בגלל אבות but adding instead a passage from Isaiah (XLVII, 4), גואלנו ה' צבאות שמו קדוש ישראל.

[54] As to the readings in Genizah fragments cp. Elbogen, *Der jüd. Gottesdienst*, 23f.

[55] Ed. Coronel 6b. ואין להוסיף דבר על ה' ימלוך לעולם ועד מפני מה שיש מי שטועה בו ואומר מה שלא תקנו חז"ל כאן.

It is surprising that the *Manhig*,[56] while protesting against בגלל אבות and averring that those who say it have not thereby fulfilled their duty, as it is a thing not ordained by the sages, yet approves of the version current in Germany צור ישראל, though the latter likewise is not stamped with the approval of the sages.

This would lead us to the conclusion that the version contained in the Bodleian MS. of Seder Rab Amram for the evening service[57] closing with צור ישראל וגואלו, is a later addition of a misguided copyist.

5. *The mention of* מוריד הטל during the summer in the second benediction of the Shemone Esreh known as Geburot is of Palestinian origin. In all the Kerobot of Kalir[58] it is mentioned. It is found also in our Seder and in Italian prayer-books, but not in the old Sephardic ritual nor in Seder Rab Amram as reported by the Manhig.

6. *In the third benediction of the Shemone Esreh* called *Kedushat ha-Shem* the oldest version used in Palestine is קדוש אתה ונורא שמך ואין אלוה מבלעדיך והאל הקדוש נקדש בצדקה... The beginning of this benediction קדוש אתה ונורא שמך. is cited in Sifre, Deut. 343; the close of the benediction והאל הקדוש נקדש בצדקה is mentioned in *Pirke de R. Eliezer* XXXV; the middle part ואין אלוה מבלעדיך is found in Genizah fragments.[59] In the course of time, however, there grew up another version in Palestine, viz.: לדור ודור המליכו לאל, which is preserved in our Seder and in the Italian prayer-books for daily prayer. On the other hand, it seems that אתה קדוש ושמך קדוש, found in the Sephardic ritual, is the Babylonian version as it is found in Seder Rab Amram for the Musaf of Sukkot, and, according to the Oxford MS.

[56] Ibid. 40, 43.
[57] See Elbogen, *Studien*, 31.
[58] See Rapoport, *Kalir*, note 33. also אנרות שי"ר, p. 167.
[59] S. Schechter *JQR.* X 656.

also for the morning service of the New Year. This naturally leads to the conclusion that לדור ודור המליכו לאל in the Seder Rab Amram is a later addition.

7. *In the daily evening service*, the question whether to add ברוך ה' לעולם and יראו עינינו has been debated for centuries. According to the Maḥzor Vitry (p. 101) "the heads of the academies in Babylon composed this benediction (ברוך ה' לעולם) and sent it to the sages of Jabneh and it was approved by them. (ראשי ישיבות בבבל יסדו ברכה זו... ושלחום לחכמי יבנה ונתישרה בעיניהם). Likewise Rashi, in *Pardes*, Chapter II.—"The eighteen benedictions were composed in Jabneh and sent to Babylon for liturgical use; thereupon the Babylonians compiled these eighteen scriptural verses corresponding in number to the Shemone Esreh, and sent them to the sages in Jabneh." י"ח ברכות ביבנה תקנום ושלחום לאנשי בבל להתפלל, לכך תקנו אנשי בבל גם הם את אלה י"ח אזכרות של פסוקים שהם נגד התפלה ושלחום לחכמי יבנה . . .

Though we cannot rely on these two sources as to time and place of the institution of this prayer, we can, at least, see that ברוך ה' לעולם is very old, and was known in Babylon and Palestine in ancient times. Natronai Gaon, in a Responsum cited in Seder Rab Amram 25a, ascribed this prayer to later authorities אתו בתראי ותקינו, likewise the *Eshkol* (*Hilkot Tefillah we-Keriat Shema* LX) ascribes it to later rabbis רבנן בתראי. But who were those later rabbis? Here we may also be guided by the trustworthy Manhig, which ascribes this prayer to "the men of the west."

Now the men of the West are undoubtedly the sages of Palestine who probably composed this prayer about the seventh century. In the course of time it spread everywhere, including some Babylonian synagogues. Naturally this prayer is found in Saadia's Siddur, in Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, and in all Italian prayer-books, differing only with regard to the wording of the close of the benediction.

Saadia goes even further, including it even in the Sabbath eve service.

It is remarkable that though this prayer was accepted in some Babylonian synagogues, the Sephardic ritual failed to include it. Isaac Ibn Gayyat and Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam) were opposed to its use even on week days. Hence I am inclined to believe that its occurrence in the *Seder Rab Amram*, p. 19, is due to a later insertion; otherwise the Spanish Jews would have adopted it.

8. *The question whether to say* אתה קדשת or ומאהבתך שאהבת את ישראל עמך is an old one. Palestinian sources such as *Tosephta Berakot* III, *Siddur R. Saadia*, *Sefer Tanya Rabbati*, Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, and the older editions of the Roman liturgy, exhibit only ומאהבתך; on the other hand, the Babylonian-Spanish ritual, when it does use ומאהבתך, it is always in connection with אתה קדשת, as, for instance, the Oxford MS. of Seder Rab Amram and the *Sefer ha-Ittim* of Judah Albargeloni (p. 138). The Spanish liturgy in itself never mentions ומאהבתך. This makes it quite evident that ומאהבתך is Palestinian, while אתה קדשת is Babylonian. Hence ומאהבתך in our Seder Rab Amram is a later insertion.

Moreover, it is probable that ומאהבתך was intended not only for Sabbath but also for the holidays, but later on when ותתן לנו was adopted for the holidays ומאהבתך was restricted to the Sabbath only. Traces of the usage to recite ומאהבתך also on holidays are discernible in the Seliḥot for Yom Kippur of the German ritual, in the prayer beginning ודוד עבדך אמר לפניך. As to ותתן לנו being adopted for the holidays it is evident from Rashi's insertion of this prayer in the text of the b. Ber. 33b.

9. *The prayer* תקנת שבת *for the Musaf of Sabbath*, based on מנצפ"ך and חשר"ק is likewise Palestinian. In Palestine, the cradle of the piyyut, such alphabetical acrostics were quite

frequent. The Midrash Shir ha-Shirim, as well as Midrash Kohelet, hint at the origin of such piyyutim הדין פייטנא כד הוא עביד אלפי ביטין.[60] Hence תקנת שבת is found in *Seder R. Saadia*, in our Seder, in the German and French rituals, while it is wanting in the Sephardic ritual. The Spanish Jews had another prayer for Sabbath Musaf למשה צויית על הר סיני whose origin is likely Babylonian. The fact that the *Manhig, Hilkot Sabbath 42* . . . traces תקנת שבת to the French and Provencal rituals proves clearly that his copy of Seder Rab Amram did not contain it. Hence תקנת שבת in our Seder Rab Amram is a later interpolation. Rapoport's view that the German Jews borrowed תקנת שבת from the Seder Rab Amram[61] is therefore untenable.

10. *The special Shema Benediction before bedtime* בא"י אמ"ה אקב"ו להמליכו בלבב שלם ובנפש חפצה . . . was customary in Palestine in ancient times, as is revealed in a Genizah fragment (*J Q R.*, X, 657). The Seder Ḥibbur Berakot has it, consequently it was current in Italy, while the Spanish Jews were opposed to it, for the reason given by Albargeloni (quoted in Shibbale ha-Leket, p. 90): כי לא תקנוה רבותינו "for our rabbis had not instituted it." Its occurrence in the Oxford MS. of Seder Rab Amram is undoubtedly due to an interpolation by a copyist.

11. The prayer לעולם יהא אדם, which occurs in Seder Ḥibbur Berakot and in all the Italian and German prayer-books, and is derived from the תנא דבי אליהו, is either Palestinian or Italian. Very likely it was introduced at a later date into the Seder Rab Amram.

The following observation may not be out of place. According to Rashi b. Yoma 87b, the prayer רבון העולמים following לעולם יהא אדם is the confession of Rabbi Joḥanan on Atonement Day. This view of Rashi is indeed surpris-

[60] Cant. R. I, 1; Koh. R. I, 13.
[61] Rapoport, *Toldot R. Nathan*, n. 29.

ing, for to the question of the Talmud "What does he say?" (i. e. how does he make confession) Rab answers אחה יודע רזי עולם, Samuel ממעמקי הלב, and Levi ובתורתך כתוב לאמור, R. Joḥanan רבון העולמים, R. Judah כי עונותינו רבו, R. Hamnuna אלהי עד שלא נוצרתי. Of all these confessions those suggested by Samuel and R. Joḥanan are not known to us. ממעמקי הלב which must have been in the nature of a "Widduy" confession is entirely lost, likewise R. Joḥanan's רבון העולמים must have been a confession, whereas the formula to which Rashi refers is really a prayer, not a confession. It might be better to say that the Ribbon ha-Olamim of R. Joḥanan is identical with the רבוני חטאתי ומורע עשיתי quoted in the name of R. Berekiah in Yer. Yoma VIII, 9, and with some variations in Midrash Rabba to Leviticus III.

Rashi arrives at his interpretation through another question in the Talmud: מאי נעילת שערים to which Rab replies צלותא יתירתא, while Samuel says, מה אנו ומה חיינו. Through Samuel's mention of מה אנו ומה חיינו, which is a part of רבון כל העולמים לא על צדקותינו, Rashi associated also the רבון העולמים of R. Joḥanan with this prayer. As a matter of fact רבון כל העולמים לא על צדקותינו is collective. It is surprising that Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 377) and after him Baer, Landshut, Elbogen, etc., accepted Rashi's view despite its incongruity. Even the common version רבון כל העולמים confirms our view, since the Talmud exhibits only רבון העולמים.[62]

[62] It is also difficult to accept the opinion of Rapoport (*Kalir* 177) that from לעיניכם אמר ה' until יהא אדם לעולם is but one prayer derived from Tanna de-be-Elijahu. For מה אנו ומה חיינו is the נעילת שערים of Samuel. It appears to me rather that from רבון העולמים until רחמיך הרבים is one prayer; the part from מה אנחנו to כי הכל הבל constitutes the נעילת שערים and, what follows אבל אנחנו is a new prayer. Only the Sephardim and the Yemenites have interpolated between מה אנחנו and לבד אנחנו the qualifying clause לבד הנשמה. This interpolation, however, is not part of the subject matter, and is not found in ancient sources.

From all these one can see that the influence of Palestine was great upon the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot and the Italian ritual in general; on the other hand, Babylon's influence is quite evident in the Spanish ritual.[63] Thus, when laws, customs and prayers of a distinct Palestinian character are noticed in SRA, we should be careful not to ascribe all of them to R. Amram, but rather stamp them as later interpolations. The same holds true also in regard to the passages of the Palestinian Talmud occurring in the SRA, since we know, that the Geonim of Babylon were rather reluctant to derive assistance from Palestinian sources.

It is noteworthy that the well-known prayer רבון העולמים לא בצדקתי וביושר לבבי אני נשען להפיל תחנתי לפניך כי על רחמיך הרבים published in later editions of the Roman Siddur and ascribed by Luzzatto and others to R. Samuel Latif, is also found in Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, though with many variations. Since R. Samuel Latif lived in the latter part of the fifteenth (Cod. Rossi 798, 937) and the earlier part of the sixteenth century (Katalog Oppenheim, 1782, p. 59b),[64] printing as he did, among other books, the Maḥzor Roma in 1520 or 1522, it is safe to assume that he merely copied this prayer from some manuscript copy of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot.

There remains one point to clear up. We must dispel the illusion of those who think that the variations between Palestine and Babylon which Solomon Luria collected in his *Yam shel Shelomoh* (toward the end of Baba Kamma) and to which Müller added eighteen, making a total of seventy-three, embrace all the differences of opinion between

[63] Still there are some versions in the Spanish Siddur that are Palestinian in character, e. g. אתה הוא אחד קודם שבראת העולם, or יהא שלמא רבא in the Kaddish (see Pool, *The Kaddish*, p. 69), but these versions are few, and can be easily enumerated.

[64] Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 250.

Palestine and Babylon. According to Müller there were twenty-one variations altogether with regard to prayers and blessings, whereas in truth there were numerous such differences. The Babylonians and Palestinians had two distinct rituals. Possibly Müller himself did not intend to give us all the variants between the two rituals. In fact, he did not even record all the liturgical variants between Babylon and Palestine that appear in the *Masseket Soferim*. The latter exhibits halakic differences with reference to the liturgy in almost every chapter; and therefore the efforts of some expositors of the *Masseket Soferim*, like the Gaon of Wilna and R. Jacob Naumburg, to reconcile the halakot in *Masseket Soferim* with those in the Babylonian Talmud must prove futile. Such halakot in the *Masseket Soferim* are based on the Palestinian Talmud, and one need not distort the meaning of *Masseket Soferim* because the Talmud Babli is not in harmony with its statements.

CHAPTER XI

BABYLONIAN ELEMENTS IN THE SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT

It was emphasized in the introduction that the Italian rite of the SḤB is preponderately Palestinian. That implies, of course, that it contains also other ingredients.

It would be one-sidedness on our part to ignore the Babylonian elements which in course of time had crept into the Palestinian-Italian rite and which are evident on the surface. Such influences are quite natural. We witness them in our own days, when Jews emigrate from their native land to another country and erect synagogues and introduce therein the rites and usages which they brought with them from their native land, instead of adopting outright the laws and customs of the synagogues in the new

country. Later on, when these synagogues come in contact with others, a reciprocal influence enters between them. If some of the immigrant Jews affiliate themselves with the already existing synagogues and become influential there, the result will be that some of their rites and customs will enter these synagogues and become naturalized there or else bring about a compromise between them and the existing rites. German communities in Italy, Russian-Polish communities in Germany, are a good instance. When Rab emigrated to Babylon he undoubtedly introduced the Palestinian rite in his synagogue. On the other hand, as was pointed out above, when Babylonian Jews came to Palestine they forced even the native Palestinians to adopt their synagogual usages. Of Egypt we know today that both the Babylonian and Palestinian rites were prevalent there.[65] Saadia borrowed his liturgical texts from Palestinian synagogues. Maimonides derived his material not from purely Babylonian synagogues, since his rite exhibits also Palestinian elements, but from synagogues that were not altogether unsympathetic to the Palestinian rite. And the same seems to hold true also in Italy, where we likewise find some Babylonian influences exerted on the reigning Palestinian rite. This fact will be illustrated by two points which show Babylonian influence.

It has been stated already that in spite of all the discovered texts we are still unable to trace back all our prayers to their first sources. The fact is that the prayer-book did not originate in a day, but is the product of a long and continuous development. It is therefore difficult to answer the question where the text of the Yoẓer Kedushah which we possess had its origin. Ph. Bloch, in his treatise on the יורדי מרכבה or the mystics of the Geonic period, has endeavored to trace back the Kedushah in the Yoẓer with its

[65] Comp. *JQR.*, XVIII, 569; XIX, 900; Poznanski in *ZHB.*, X, 195.

fantastic content to these obscure mystics. Bloch is probably right. Seder Rab Amram (p. 4a) already ascribes the introduction of this Kedushah in the Yoẓer to the יורדי מרכבה. Also Elbogen's evidence[66] seems to be of weight, especially since Saadia and several Genizah fragments exhibit another and shorter Yoẓer text, which seems to be the old Palestinian. Ginzberg[67] brings the 'Amidah-Kedushah (the Kedushah in the third benediction of the Shemone Esreh) in connection with the Yoẓer-Kedushah. As to the 'Amidah-Kedushah, it is well known that the Babylonian Jews who emigrated to Palestine forced the Jews there to recite an 'Amidah-Kedushah also on week-days.[68] Ginzberg, following Rapoport concludes that "as the 'Amidah-Kedushah is the product of the Babylonian mystics, so the Yoẓer-Kedushah goes back to the Palestinian mystics" (p. 132). Such a conclusion is hardly justified. The passage in Josephus to which Ginzberg refers speaks only of a morning prayer performed by the Essenes, but makes no mention of a Kedushah.[69] To suppose that such a Kedushah must have existed, although the Palestinian sources are against it, is hardly warranted. Here the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, which is also quoted by Ginzberg (*Geonica* II, 49), offers a clue to the solution of the problem.

We must, however, first point out other differences in the Kedushah text of the Babylonians and the Palestinians. The Babylonians, influenced by the mystic effusions of the יורדי מרכבה, were fond of speaking of angels who "put the crown on the Creator." Of Sandalphon it is said (b. Ḥagigah

[66] *Studien zur Geschichte des jüdischen Gottesdienstes*, p. 20 ff.

[67] *Geonica* I, 129 ff.

[68] See preceding chapter.

[69] Josephus (*de bello Judaico*, II, 8, 5) says of the Essenes: "They speak not a word about profane things before the rising of the sun, but they offer up prayers they have received from their fathers, facing the sun, as if praying for its rising."

13b) that "he wreathes crowns to his Creator" (קושר כתרים לקונו). The best opportunity for the insertion of this expression was offered the Babylonians in the 'Amidah-Kedushah, which, owing to the Trisagion (קדוש, קדוש, קדוש), they found appropriate to preface with כתר יתנו לך. The Palestinians, on the other hand, know only נקדישך ונעריצך (*Masseket Soferim*, XV, 12). Now, it is surprising, that while Seder Rab Amram shows כתר in all the Kedushah prayers, the Italian ritual, as exemplified by our Seder, as well as the Sephardic and French rituals, contain נקדישך for Shaḥrit and Minḥah, and כתר for Musaf. We can explain this fact only by the assumption that the mystic elements in all the Kedushot, in the Yoẓer as well as in the 'Amidah, are due to the Yorde Merkabah.

The Yorde Merkabah were in high esteem at the time of the Geonim. The mystic literature of the Geonim, and especially the Hekalot, are full of descriptions concerning their lives and activities. They imagined that they saw the seven halls, and all that is therein, with their own eyes, while passing from one hall into another, which may have gotten them the rather obscure name Yorde Merkabah. The leader of the Merkabah-travelers was Metatron or Metatron-Enoch, who initiated the members of the Merkabah into the secrets of the forces of nature and universe.

These Yorde Merkabah, although they contributed but little to the development of speculative mysticism, were of great service in the development of liturgical poetry as shown in our Kedushah and Yoẓer piyyutim.

Originally, the Yoẓer was very short, and consisted only of the following: בא"י אמ"ה יוצר אור ובורא חושך עושה שלום ובורא את הכל. המאיר לארץ ולדרים עליה ברחמים, טובו מחדש בכל יום תמיד מעשה בראשית, כאמור לעושה אורים גדולים כי לעולם חסדו. בא"י יוצר המאורות which, according to Saadia and Genizah fragments,

was Palestinian.[70] Due to the influence of the Yorde Merkabah, the Yoẓer grew in proportion, until it contained long passages referring to the angels, as the משרתים—the ministers, the חיות—the living creatures, the שרפים—the fiery ones, and the אופנים—the wheels that carry the Throne.

Considering the zeal with which the Babylonians endeavored to make the daily Kedushah popular, we may venture a step farther, and assume that their interest lay not only in the Kedushah as such, but also in its wording,—since the Musaf text contained the mystical idea of the Yorde Merkabah about the כתר, the crown that God receives from the angels and Israel, and since the Yoẓer text held the idea of the אופנים, the 'wheels.' That כתר was contained in the Babylonian Kedushah can be proven by the fact, that the Seder Rab Amram has this text for all the 'Amidot. The same holds true of the 'Ophanim' in the Yoẓer, as is evident from Rab Amram's introduction to the Yoẓer. And it was to this mystical idea of the 'Keter' and the 'Ophanim' that the Palestinians objected.

The Babylonians finally succeeded in compelling the Palestinians to recite the Kedushah daily, but the כתר was taken out of the text.

We may even assume that the 'Keter' text in the third benediction of the 'Amidah was already used in Babylon, even at an earlier time than the above mentioned Responsum, namely, in the fifth century, before the completion of the Talmud Yerushalmi; and the Palestinians always objected to this custom. We may even go further and say, that what the Babylonians called the מרכבה (the chariot), the Palestinians called, in an abbreviated form אופן (the wheel). This last assumption will explain the passage in Yerushalmi V, 4, בטיטי אשתתיק באופניה: a Palestinian cantor refused to recite the אופן, which was the Babylonian 'Keter.'

[70] Comp. Elbogen, *Studien*, p. 21.

Thus, if we accept the theory that the Palestinian term אופן corresponded to the Babylonian כתר, this passage in the Yerushalmi that puzzled many commentators, can easily be solved.

The process of the Yoẓer-Kedushah cannot be followed with certainty. However, of one fact we are sure, namely, that the strong efforts of the Babylonian mystics are responsible for the incorporation of both the Yoẓer-Kedushah and the כתר text, not, however, without a slight modification, which the Babylonians found it convenient to accept: נקדישך was spared for the morning service, while כתר was applied only to the Musaf.* Possibly later on, in the days of Ben Meir, when the Palestinian Jews freed themselves from Babylonian influence, they eliminated כתר and gave נקדישך its former place of honor. In this way it becomes clear why the German ritual never adopted כתר; but in view of the 'Amidah-Kedushah already forming part of the week-day service, rabbis, out of respect to the old Palestinian נקדישך which was used only on Sabbath, composed a short Kedushah, namely נקדש את שמך בעולם.

Ginzberg, who had the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot before him,[71] overlooked נקדישך in the morning prayer of that Seder (fol. 38). Furthermore, Ginzberg describes the Italian ritual as "modelled after that of the Babylonians."[72]

Another point clearly showing Babylonian influence involves the prayer יקום פורקן. This prayer was doubtless composed in Babylon. The question is how did it get to the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, while wanting in the Spanish ritual? It seems to me that the original יקום פורקן must have contained only the blessing for the Babylonian acade-

* And so we find it in our Seder as well as in the Sephardic and French rituals.

[71] *Geonica*, II, 48, note 3.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

mies and their heads. Subsequently, when the Babylonians immigrated to Palestine, they introduced יקום פורקן wherever they could, but out of respect to the Palestinian congregations they gave preference to the latter, by mentioning, in the blessing, Palestine before Babylonia. Thus יקום פורקן became naturalized in Palestine. Seder Ḥibbur Berakot probably preserved the oldest Palestinian text of the יקום פורקן, viz:

יקום פורקן מן שמיא וחינא וחסדא וחיי אריכי ומזוני רויחי וסיעתא מן שמיא ובריות גופא ונהורא מעלייא, וזרעא חייא וקיימא זרעא דלא יפטור ודלא יפסוק מפתגמי אוריתא, לכל קהלייא קדישיא די בארעא דישראל ודי בארעא דבבל ודי בכל ארע גלוותהון לרישי כלה ולרבני חבורתא ולרישי מתיבתא ולדייני דבבא, ולכל תלמידיהון ולכל תלמידי תלמידיהון ולכל מאן דעסקין באוריתא מלכא דעלמא יברך יתהון ויפיש חייהון ויהא אורכא לשניהון וישתיזבון ויתפרקון מכל עקן ומכל מרעין בישין מראן דבשמיא יהא בסעדהון בכל זמן ועידן ונאמר אמן.

As the Babylonian academies went out of existence, and the Gaonate ceased to function, the יקום פורקן also lost its importance, and disappeared altogether from the Sephardic and Italian rituals. In the German ritual it is still carried, with some reference to the rabbis and scholars of Palestine, חבורתא קדישתא די בארעא דישראל.

CHAPTER XII

MENAḤEM B. SOLOMON, FIRST COMPILER OF THE ITALIAN RITUAL

THE question has often been propounded: who was the first compiler of the Italian ritual? Naturally, it is difficult to give a definite answer to such a question, since compilers in the early mediaeval times took pains to conceal their names, with the result that the compilers' names were entirely forgotten, though their work continued to live for many generations. In vain did Rapoport in his letters to

Luzzatto אגרות שי"ר,[73] endeavor to reveal the name of the man to whom we owe the Italian Siddur.

R. Joḥanan Treves, the author of the קמחא דאבישנא from whom Rapoport hoped to glean this information, offered no help in the solution of this puzzle. All we know is that the *Maḥzor b'ne Roma*, as the Italian prayer-book is called, was printed before other Maḥzorim; it was begun in October, 5246 (1485) in the city of Soncino and was finished in August, 1486, in Casaal Maggiore. Nor does Luzzatto in his Introduction to the Italian Maḥzor tell us anything about the compiler.

It is more than likely that Menaḥem b. Solomon was the first to compile an Italian prayer-book. This belief is based on the following considerations. Up to the 11th century the Jewish liturgy was in a state of fluctuation, and only from the 11th century on do we discern definite grouping and well-marked rituals. Now it stands to reason that Menaḥem b. Solomon, who lived about that time, was the first to formulate the Italian ritual in his Seder Ḥibbur Berakot.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PIYYUTIM IN THE SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT

In the eleventh century, when the Babylonian academies ceased to exist, the old opposition of the Babylonian Geonim against the insertion of Piyyutim in the prayers, especially in the ʿAmidah, seems to have broken down completely. Menaḥem ben Solomon speaks of the insertion of piyyutim and kerobot in prayers (fol. 13) as of an already existing custom. No wonder, therefore, that the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, as the oldest Italian ritual order, contains old

[73] See his letters, No. XXVII, p. 152.

piyyutim and kerobot for week-days and Sabbaths, which on their face betray Palestinian descent.

Here mention will be made of only such piyyutim which, as far as we know, are found only in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot and have not come to light heretofore.[74]

The shortened Shemone Esreh מעין י"ח has already been mentioned (page 7). The following is a list of the others:

1. את שבת קודשך הנחלתה לעם מקדישך (fol. 96), for the Ma'arib service on Friday night; not mentioned in Zunz.
2. אתא יום ענוגה (fol. 131), a shortened grace after meals for Sabbath. Zunz 89.
3. אב סגני כהונה ולויה (fol. 145), an Elijah-song for the conclusion of Sabbath. Zunz, 88.
4. ארץ הנקראת אבן שתיה (fol. 147), a Habdalah-song. Zunz 681.
5. אליהו הנביא עד מתי אתה תאחר (fol. 147) by R. Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen from Siponto, a contemporary of R. Kalonymus of Rome, the only piyyut known by him. It is noteworthy that Elijah and Habdalah-songs were highly recommended by R. Joseph Tob Elem and R. Jacob Tam. Zunz, 163, (Comp. Part II).
6. אלהים דבר בקדשו and אצו היום שתי שמחות (fol. 155–156). These are two Yoẓerot for Sabbath New-Moon. Zunz 69.
7. אגודת ירח ומרגועים (fol. 156), a Zulat for Sabbath New Moon. Zunz 72.
8. אתה אלוה ישועות (fol. 157), an Ophan for Sabbath New Moon. Zunz 70.
9. אתחיל מקצת לספר בשבח בורא דוק וחלד ומשובח (fol. 71) a Kerobah for the Sabbath ha-Ḥodesh by a Payyetan

[74] This information was supplied to me by Prof. Davidson, who, through his אוצר השירה והפיוט, is in the best position to know it.

Ḥananel b. Amnon[75]. It is striking that this kerobah follows in the main the structure of Yannai's kerobot with a few variants.[76] It consists of the following parts:

a) After the introductory formula מסוד חכמים which is not given in full, follows an alphabetic poem in the first benediction of the Shemone Esreh מגן beginning אחחיל מקצת לספר בשבח, consisting of the letters א' to ל' in one rhymed phrase. This part ends with לענה רוו במכת כל בכור, after which come Bible verses expressing the same ideas as those of the preceding part of the Kerobah ככתוב, ויהי בחצי הלילה וה' הכה כל בכור.

b) In the second benediction מחיה the poem is continued from the letter מ' to צ' in two rhymed phrases. This is followed again by Bible verses.

c) After the conclusion of the second benediction the poem is continued from ק' to ת' in four rhymed phrases, with following Bible verses as above, ending with ימלוך ה' לעולם.

d) ואתה קדוש this is the heading of a poem which follows the second benediction and is halakic in character. It is in two-phrase rhyme, ending with חי וקיים נורא מרום וקדוש.

e) Another double alphabetical poem אשנן מפעלות אל with the heading מה מועיל רשע בעליו; in three phrased rhyme.

f) This poem is succeeded by another halakic poem אקום בתוך עם with an introduction ובכן and an

[75] The name Ḥananel b. Amnon does not occur anywhere. Sabbatai Donolo in his introduction to the חכמוני says that among the ten Rabbis who lost their lives during the conquest of Aversa (Italy) in 925 there were also two great scholars, a certain R. Amnon and a certain Ḥananel. I might suggest that this martyr Ḥananel can be identified with our Ḥananel b. Amnon.

[76] Comp. Israel Davidson, *Maḥzor Yannai* (1919) p. XXVI.

alphabetic acrostic. This poem is followed by the known prayer אל נא לעולם תוערץ, which unfortunately is not reproduced in full.

g) ארשה ברוב עם להודות, a halakic poem in four phrase rhyme with double alphabet and acrostic חננאל followed by a סילוק beginning אשרי העם שככה לו preceded by the introductory words ובכן לך תעלה קדושה.

It is surprising that Zunz, who used our MS. overlooked this valuable Kerobah, and, moreover, that he considered the poem ארשה ברוב עם להודות which forms a part of it, as an independent poem derived from a French MS. (Z. 89).

10. אופן בכס מרכבות (fol. 220) for the first day of Passover by Kalir. Zunz does not mention it.
11. אחד דר שבעה (fol. 228) for Sabbath Ḥol ha-Moed, not in Zunz.
12. אמת אלקינו אמת מלכנו (fol. 229) for Sabbath Ḥol ha-Moed, not in Zunz.
13. אל עליון הכל מתקן (fol. 244) an Ophan for the Sabbath before Pentecost. Zunz 649. It is the Ophan in which the angel Metatron is described as נער סווריה. Acrostic: אברהם הקטן חזק.
14. אמון הייתי אצל איום (f. 245) a Zulat for the same day with the curious expressions פילוס, קשיונו, פושכנית and ארכונית. Acrostic: לאברהם חזק.

Zunz 649, 9 would like to ascribe these two piyyutim to Abraham b. Jeḥiel, the brother of R. Nathan.

15. אשורך לצורי שירה עריבה (f. 246) for the same day. Zunz 457.
16. אשוחח לפי מיעוט חילי (f. 247) for the same day. Zunz 457.
17. ויושע ה' אום נדגלה (f. 237) for the evening service on the eighth night of Passover; consists of five parts:

a) ויושע ה' אום נדגלה. b) ה' יצא כגבור. c) וברוך נאונך נסים פעלתה d) אימת מבטיך e) תביאמו לבית חדריך Z. 648.

18. ידידיה שר והושע (f. 230) for Sabbath Ḥol ha-Moed of Passover; a complete piyyut based on שיר השירים; not in Zunz.

19. כבודו אופני הוד רועשים (f. 221) an Ophan for the same day, not in Zunz.

20. פרה באומן אומץ אוסם (f. 168) for Sabbath Parashat Parah. Zunz 60. The structure of this poem reminds one at once of Yannai. Comp. the second part of this book, where this poem is discussed at length.

21. שוכן רום שמים אלהינו (f. 146) Song for the conclusion of Sabbath, by Samuel b. Shalom. Z. 673.

22. שיר השירים אמריה צפה (f. 224) for the second day of Passover, was also in vogue in Mayence. R. Joseph Mollin mentions it in מהרי"ל p. 24. comp. Zunz 668.

23. שבת בך שר כל יציר עולם (f. 268) a piyyut out of tune with the preceding piyyutim, by an anonymous payyetan, indefinite as to day and occasion on which it is to be recited.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ORTHOGRAPHY AND STYLE OF THE SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT

ALTHOUGH the question of plene or defective writing in prayers is not of the same importance as in the Bible, Tefillin, Mezuzot or divorce formulæ, nevertheless it deserves consideration here, especially since we know that from an early date there had been differences on this score between the Babylonians and Palestinians.[76a] The tradition

[76a] Comp. Pinsker מבוא לנקוד האשורי או הבבלי, p. 132, and Müller's חלוף המנהגים in *Hashaḥar*, 1876–77, ch. 27.

of the former was to write defective, while that of the latter inclined toward plene. As evidence may serve the passage of b. Gitin 65b: ר' נתן אומר פטרוה דבריו קיימין, פיטרוה לא אמר כלום, אמר רבא ר' נתן דבבלאה הוא ודייק בין פיטרוה לפטרוה תנא דידן דבר א"י הוא לא דייק. In Yer. Berakot 7, 4 we find prayers written plene, as for instance ולא קנאת אדם תעלה על לבינו or ותיחד את לבבינו while in b. Berakot 17a the same is written defective: אל ידוה לבנו.[77]

The Italian, German and French scholars followed Palestinian tradition in writing plene. R. Jehudah the Pious requested the copyists of the liturgy that they should write plene: הכותב סדר תפלות יכתוב אותיות מלאים, כי כותבים מלאים למי שאינו בקי כגון כשרוצה לכתוב וטהר לבנו לעבדך באמת יכתוב וטהר ליבינו לעובדך באמת, ליבינו מלא לעובדך מלא, ושבת קודשך אוהבי שמך וכיוצא בו (*Sefer Ḥasidim* ch. 882). All this because the western rabbis were afraid that the rules of vocalization for some reason or another might be forgotten among the Jews. Another motive may have been to facilitate the reading of prayers to those who are not versed in the laws of punctuation. In vain did R. Sabbatai Sofer argue that in his opinion the words quoted in the *Sefer Ḥasidim* are the words of an erring pupil.[78]

In the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot for instance we find such peculiarities in plene writing: a yod instead of a ḥirek, even when the ḥirek constitutes a short vowel, as e. g. המיתפלל, תחילה, קיניין, עיניין, גיבור. Yod inst. of zere as: ארצינו, שיני, ריבינו, גאלינו, רפאינו. Yod inst. of segol as: קינייניך. Yod inst. of kamez as: היתה, מחייה, עיניין, קיניין, ענייתן. We also find vav inst. of ḳamez as: בעונינו, קורבנות, תחונינו, קוטנו, גודלו, חכמתו, קודשך. With reference to the latter it was pointed out already by Ḥayyim Bacharach, the author of the

[77] See אגרות שי"ר p. 158.

[78] Berliner, *Abhandlungen über den Siddur des Shabbatai ha-Sofer*, p. 10.

Ḥawot Jair, that many Maḥzorim exhibit the writing of plene in כותבינו, זוכרינו instead of כתבנו, זכרנו,[79] Yod instead of patah as in מדיי, קריית שמע. So the spelling in the Pal. Talmud ייני instead ינאי, זכיי inst. זכאי, שמיי inst. שמאי etc. Also *Maḥzor Yannai*, a Palestinian product, exhibits plene writing. The reason for it is not that the Italian, French and German rabbis clung to the uniliteral or biliteral system of Menaḥem ben Saruk, as against the Spanish rabbis who adhered to the triliteral theory of Hebrew roots by Ḥayyug;[80] the Italian and German rabbis hardly thought of Menaḥem ben Saruk's theory in writing Hebrew. The reason for the plene writing was rather to prevent mistakes in reading, and hence they inserted the helping letters או"י to take the place of vowels and thus insure correct reading. This is also the opinion of R. Nathan b. Jeḥiel, author of the Aruk, in his explanation to b. Aboda Zara 9b. ספרא בצירה תנא תוספאה. מנהג הכותב מקרא לכתוב תיבות בחיסור כגון משה בלא ו' אבל התנא מנהגו לכתוב התיבה מלא בלא חיסור. It is the custom of Bible copyists to write defective as e. g. משה without ו', but the Tanna is used to write plene not defective. In the case of biblical passages which were current in the mouth of the people there was no fear for mistakes, but as to post-biblical recitations there was need for plene writing in order to avoid misreading.

Outside of orthographic peculiarities there are in the SḤB some uncommon words which deserve mention here. It seems that also in this respect Palestinian practice was followed: to combine של with the noun in one word, as for instance שליד, שלכהן, שלפת, שלחול etc. The name אליהו is written אליקו (fol. 68); inst. of מר the Palestinian מור (fol. 12, 50); תלמיד חכמ' (abbreviated from תלמיד חכמים) inst. of תלמיד חכם. Sometimes we meet with an entirely new conju-

[79] Güdemann, in התורה והחיים Friedberg's translation I, part , p. 153.
[80] Comp. Lewin, *Igeret R. Scherira Gaon*, p. 27.

gation not found anywhere in Talmud or Midrash, as for instance העומד בתענית והוצמא. In the Bible we find only the kal of צמא; Sifre 199 employs this root also in the hiphil: לא להרעיבה ולא להצמיאה. Menaḥem b. Solomon, however, constructed also the hophal of צמא. It is a pity that the book he contemplated on roots and constructions in Talmud remained unwritten: we might have gained a better understanding of some expressions in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot. Some of these I wish to indicate here: חידוש תפלה comp. Yer. Sanhedrin IX, 27 חידוש מקרא and Lev. Rabbah 13, 3 ולא כמינס דברי שיר, מנח לסיפרא ביקריה, further חידוש תורה חייב נער סווירה. etc. חייב לברך אחריהן מן דקדוק התורה, ניטלם על הכלי (Metatron) who is the same as the angel סוריאל (b. Berakot 51a and Suryan in the Book of Enoch); and מה חילוף in the sense of מאי שנא, as in *Masseket Soferim*.

CHAPTER XV

THE LIFE AND TIME OF MENAḤEM B. SOLOMON

The life of Menaḥem b. Solomon, the author of our Seder, is still hidden in obscurity. None of his books reveal anything definite about himself or his family. We know that his father's name was Solomon, as it is shown in the *Sekel Tob* to Exodus XII, 42 and XV, 21 (Comp. Buber, Introduction to the Sekel Tob). Menaḥem's father, seems to have been a well-known talmudic scholar in the 11th century; Nathan b. Jeḥiel of Rome corresponded with him in regard to some talmudic matters. Menaḥem himself never mentions his father by name, but once, in his *Eben Boḥan*, he refers to him as אבי ורבי. That Menaḥem was proud of his ancestry, can be seen from the fact that, in the concluding chapter of his *Eben Boḥan*, he excuses himself for becoming an author. He says there: לא לכבודי עשיתי ולא

לכבוד בית אבא,—but for the sake of learning; the youth is drifting (an old complaint, it seems; we often hear it today), and he composes the book in order that his three sons, Yedidiah, Shealtiel and Isaac, may, through the influence of their father's work, remain learned Jews. A good reason, indeed, for becoming an author in Israel! Upon reading this, one is reminded of Gedaliah ibn Yaḥia, who wrote his chronological book, "The Chain of Tradition," to please his 'Bar Miẓvah' son.

The time of Menaḥem b. Solomon can be determined through a passage in the Sekel Tob, Exodus XII, 42, משחרב בית המקדש שני אלף ושבעים ואחת שנה, which means 1140. This is another proof that the Italian scholars liked to reckon the time according to the number of years after the destruction of the Temple.

Regarding Menaḥem's books, Sekel Tob and *Eben Boḥan*, and his correspondence with his contemporaries, comp. Buber's Introduction to the Sekel Tob.

PART II

TEXTS AND NOTES

INTRODUCTION

THE texts and notes in this part of the book do not cover the entire contents of the MS. of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot. Neither is it the purpose of these discussions to enter into technical details and explain the small differences that exist between the various 'Minhagim,' or uses, of the synagogual liturgy. My intention is to publish those texts which I found of interest and importance, and to trace these prayers and piyyutim to their Palestinian or Babylonian sources. However, there are a number of small variations in the liturgical texts and customs of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, which would be of interest to the student of liturgy; indeed, it would be worthwhile to publish the entire Seder.

The published texts and photographs were prepared by me while the MS. was at my disposal at Dropsie College and Cornell University, through the courtesy of Prof. Alexander Marx of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

I wish to mention at this point, that the first part of this book was completed in 1924, and was revised in 1929. In the meantime, Drs. Jacob Mann and Louis Finkelstein published a number of articles on liturgy, making ample use of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot. My previous theories, as presented in the first part of this book remained unchanged; they are confirmed, and even strengthened by my discussions in the second part.

PREFATORY NOTES

1. MORNING PRAYERS

THE Morning Prayers in our MS. begin with אני קראתיך אל כי תעניני, an old piyyut by Abraham b. Jacob, in which the expressions בדודי שדודי are found. This piyyut is followed by מה טבו, and then the prayers are almost in the same order as in the Italian prayer-book. The prayer רבון העולמים, on p. 3–4, is a combination of a number of prayers, and ends with בא"י שומע תפלה.

This first part of the morning service, until בשובי את שבותיכם לעיניכם אמר ה', was intended for private devotion. This can be seen from the following words, after בשובי את שבותיכם on fol. 7: ומתחילין לומר זמירות אם יש ששה אנשים בבית הכנסת, and also from the fact that the prayers יהי רצון שתרגילני לדבר מצוה and יהי רצון שתצילני היום are in the singular form, for the תפלת היחיד, and not in the plural, for the תפלת הרבים (comp. the change from רפאני ה' וארפא in Jeremiah 17, 14 to רפאינו ה' ונרפא in the 'Amidah).

It seems that the custom of wearing ציצית was not, as yet, very popular at that time. On fol. 4, we read: ורגילין חכמים מי שיש לו ציצית בבגדו להתעטף בטליתו ורואה ציציותיו ומברך.

It is remarkable, that for the Sabbath, our MS. ends the שירת הים in the following manner: מלכותך ה' אלהינו מלכות כל עולמים ממשלתך מלכינו בכל דור ודור בר' אתה ה' אדיר המלוכה. We also note that some Genizah fragments conclude יהי כבוד, at the daily services with בא"י מהלל ברוב התשבחות, and the doxology אילו פינו—with בא"י אל ההודיות (Comp. b. Berakot 59b and Yer. Berakot I, 3d; Mann, *ibid*, p. 275 and 278). The origin of such an ending is obscure, and our MS. objects to it on fol. 51b.

ישתבח, on fol. 18, reads, in part: ישתבח . . . עז וממשלה ברכות והודאות נצח גדולה וגבורה ותפארת קדושה ומלכות מעתה ועד עולם . . . גדול בשבחות . . .

The text of the congregational יתברך is also worthy of note, and reads as follows: ישתבח שמו ויתעלה זכרו של מ"ה הקב"ה שהוא אדון כל העולמים שליט בכל מעשיו שליט בעליונים ובתחתונים על כן אנו חייבים להודות לו ולפארו ולרוממו כאמור שירו לאלקים זמרו שמו סולו לרוכב בערבות ביה' שמו ועלזו לפניו ויברכו שם כבודך ומרומם על ברכה ותהילה. ברוך אתה ה' אל רוב ההודאות.

The beginning of the second benediction before the Shema, reads for week days also ... אהבת עולם, which, according to Elbogen, *Studien* 27, No. 2, is purely Palestinian.

2. 'AMIDAH

It cannot be said that the 'Amidah in our Seder is specifically Palestinian. We miss in this text the essential Palestinian elements, and find here the Babylonian את צמח. With the exception of a few variations, it rather resembles the Italian version.

However, there are a few interesting benedictions in our 'Amidah which differ from the Italian and from other known versions, and which are worth mentioning at this point:

The fifth benediction reads—השיבנו אבינו לתורתך ודבקנו במצותיך, וקרבנו מלכנו לעבודתך והחזירנו בתשובה שלמה לפניך. . . כי אל מקבל שבים את.

The ninth benediction reads—ברך עלינו יי אלהינו את השנה הזאת הבאה עלינו לטובה את כל מיני תבואתה ותן ברכה על פני האדמה (ותן טל ומטר על פני האדמה) ושבע את העולם מברכת טובך ורווה פני תבל מעושר מתנת ידך ושמור והצל את השנה הזאת מכל מיני משחית ומכל מיני פורעניות וברכה כשנים הטובות ותן ברכה והצלחה בכל מעשה ידינו . . .

The tenth benediction reads—תקע בשופר נדול לחירותינו ושא נס לקיבוץ גליותינו וקרא דרור לקבצינו יחד מארבע כנפות הארץ . . .

The eleventh benediction ends—בא"י אוהב צדקה ומשפט without מלך.

The twelfth benediction reads—ולמלשינים אל תהא תקוה וכלם ברגע תאבד . . .

The fourteenth benediction reads—ולירושלים עירך ברחמים תשוב ובנה אותה בנין עולם בימינו . . .

The fifteenth benediction reads—את צמח דוד מהרה תצמיח וקרנו תרום בישועתך כי לישועתך קוינו כל היום בא"ה מצמיח קרן לישועה.

The sixteenth benediction reads—שמע קולנו יי אלהינו חוס וחונינו ורחם עלינו וקבל ברחמים וברצון את תפילתנו כי אב מלא רחמים רבים אתה לא נשוב ריקם מלפניך כי אל מלך שומע תפילה ותחנון אתה . . .

The seventeenth benediction reads—רצה יי אלהינו בעמך ישראל ובתפלתם שעה והשב העבודה לדביר ביתך ואישי ישראל ותפילתם מהרה באהבה תקבל ברצון ותהי לרצון תמיד עבודת ישראל עמך בימינו. ותחזינה עינינו בשובך לציון ברחמים כמאז ברוך אתה יי המחזיר מהרה שכינתו לציון.

The eighteenth benediction reads—

a. מודים אנחנו לך שאתה הוא יי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו על חיינו המסורים בידך על נשמותינו הפקודות לך על ניסיך וטובותיך שבכל עת עימנו, ערב ובקר וצהרים, הטוב כי לא כלו רחמיך המרחם כי לא תמו חסדיך מעולם קוינו לך לא הכלמתנו ה' אלקינו לא עזבתנו לא הסתרתה פניך ממנו . . .

b. Modim of the Rabbis—מודים דרבנן:

מודים אנחנו לך שאתה הוא יי' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו אלהי כל בשר יוצרנו יוצר בראשית ברכות והודאות ותושבחות לשמך הגדול והקדוש שהחייתנו וקימתנו כן תחינו ותחונינו ותקיימנו ותאספינו ותכניס גליותינו לחצרות בית דביר קדשך ונודה לך לפניך ה' אלקינו עד (?) שאנו מודים לך . . .

3. MA'ARIB

At the conclusion of the Ma'arib, after יראו עינינו, our MS. reads as follows: ... בישועתך באמת אומר לציון מלך אלהיך, יי"י מלך . . . כי המלכות שלך היא לעולם ולעולמי עולמים תמלוך בכבוד כי אין לנו מלך אלא אתה ברוך אתה ה' מלך משובח ומפואר חיי וקיים ושמך תמיד עלינו לעולם ועד . . .

4. SABBATH MORNING

The prayer אחינו בני ישראל, fol. 121, for the Sabbath services after יקום פורקן, may also be of interest. Vitry has

it for the Sabbath Minḥah services. Our text reads as follows: אחינו ישראל ואנוסי ישראל ההולכים בצרה ובשביה ההולכים בים וביבשה המקום ירחמם ויחון אותם בעבור שמו הגדול ויושיעם ויושיענו ויוציאם ויוציאנו מצרה לרווחה ומאפלה לאור גדול ונאמ' אמן.

Worthy of notice is the מי שבירך, a prayer for the congregation and its members. Such blessings seem to have been very popular in Germany, France and Italy, and even Albargeloni's objections to these prayers did not stop the congregations from reciting them: מי שבירך אברהם יצחק ויעקב דוד ושלמה וכל חסידים הראשונים הוא יברך את כל אחינו ורבותינו המתעסקים בצורכי ציבור לבטל גזירות ומכסים ולהרביץ תורה בישראל ואת כל הקהל הקדוש הזה הם ובניהם ונשיהם ובנותיהם שהם משכימים ומעריבים לתפילה ונותנים נר למאור ופת לאורחים וצדקה לעניים בשכר זאת המקום יברכם ויחיים ואושרו בארץ עם כל ישראל ונאמ' אמן.

5. NIGHT PRAYER

Another interesting benediction is the one that was recited at the close of the ק"ש על המטה, and that ended with ברוך שומר עמו ישראל לעד (fol. 95). This Babylonian ending for week-day prayers, was apparently greatly favored by the Italian Jews. They even adopted it for their prayers at night, when heavenly protection was especially needed in the lands of the Galuth.

TEXT I

ברכת התורה—THE BENEDICTION ON STUDYING THE TORAH

MS. fol. 4.

ב'א'ה'א'מ'ה' אשר בחר בנו מכל העמים ונתן לנו את תורתו הערב נא ה' אלקינו את דברי תורתך בפינו ובפיפיות כל עמך בית ישראל ונהיה כולנו מלומדי תורתך ונהיה אנחנו וצאצאינו וצאצאי עמך בית ישראל יודעי שמך בר' את' ה' נותן התורה

Various formulæ are given in the Talmud, Berakot 11b and Tractate Soferim 13, for the benediction on studying the Torah. Our MS. preserved a formula which shows dis-

tinct Palestinian traces. It begins with אשר בחר בנו, which, although first mentioned by Rab Hamnuna (Huna, Rabinowitz, *Dikduke Soferim*), is a very old Palestinian form. This is followed by Rabbi Joḥanan's הערב נא, which is also Palestinian, and the benediction ends with the חתימה of Soferim בא"י נותן התורה.

TEXT II

אלהי נשמה

MS. fol. 5.

אלקי הנשמה שנתת בי טהורה אתה יצרתה ואתה נתתה בקרבי, ואתה שומרה בקרבי. אתה נטלתה ממני ואתה החזרתה בי אתה עתיד ליטלה ממני, ואתה עתיד להחזירה לי לע"ל כל זמן שהנשמה בקרבי מודה אני לפניך ה' אלקי ואלקי אבותיי רבון כל הנשמות ברוך אתה ה' המחזיר נשמות לפגרים מתים.

We note a few interesting points in our text of אלקי הנשמה. Our text does not contain the word היא after טהורה, as it is used in b. Niddah 30b; the phrases אתה בראתה and אתה נפחתה, which are found in MSS. of Sulzberger and Oxford, respectively, are also missing. The beginning of our text reads אלקי הנשמה with a ה' before נשמה, which form is grammatically correct, and is used in the Yemenite version. The usage of the letter 'vav' in ואתה נתתה and ואתה שומרה, is purely Palestinian. The conclusion רבון כל הנשמות, instead of the rather old Palestinian expression רבון כל המעשים (comp. *Pesikta* דר"כ ed. by Buber, p. 28, and *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*, ch. 18), is used here in order to have מעין חתימה סמוך לחתימה.

TEXT III

ברכות־השחר—MORNING BENEDICTIONS

MS. fol. 5.

באהאמ"ה המתיר אסורים
מעורר ישינים
מקיץ רדומים
משיח אלמים
פוקח עורים

זוקף כפופים
מגביה שפלים
המלביש ערומים
הנותן לשכוי בינה להבחין בין יום ובין לילה
המכין מצעדי גבר
רוקע הארץ על המים
האזר ישראל בגבורה
שעשיתה בי כל צרכי
שלא עשיתני גוי [עובד ע"ז] כגוי הארצות
מל ולא ערל
שלא עשיתני עבד לבריות
שלא עשיתני אשה
שלא עשיתני בהמה

The student of Jewish liturgy meets with some difficulties in tracing the morning benedictions, known as the ברכות השחר, to their talmudic sources. The problem becomes even more complicated, when we learn through R. Meir's statement (b. Menaḥot, 43b) חיב אדם לברך מאה ברכות בכל יום, that one hundred benedictions are to be recited daily by each Jew.

That this statement of R. Meir was taken literally, and not בדרך נוחמא, can be proven by the fact that the Spanish community of Lucena later turned to Natronai b. Hilai Gaon with the request that he enumerate the one hundred benedictions for their benefit. This request was the incentive for Natronai's attempt to arrange and outline the daily prayers; this first outline was called the סדר מאה ברכות. The early rabbis also considered one hundred as the precise number of the prescribed benedictions, just as they accepted the number of the precepts to be 613.

With the 100 benedictions as the basis of a prayer-book, the סדר grew in the course of years, until it reached its present size. And although some versions of the prayers have undergone certain changes, nevertheless, the fundamental features of the סדר remained the same. Even the name סדר is used until the present day, although this term

primarily referred to the 'order' of the one hundred benedictions.

The early students of Jewish liturgy did not investigate the injunction that one hundred benedictions should be recited daily: they took it literally, and concerned themselves only in counting the ברכות, and in endeavoring to discover enough benedictions to form the prescribed number. It is also interesting to see, that the Yerushalmi, Berakot IX, 8, only states שאין לך אדם מישראל שאינו עושה מאה מצות בכל יום, not making it incumbent upon an individual to recite 100 benedictions.

In our MS. the morning benedictions were clearly intended for the תפלת היחיד; we know, however, that the ברכות השחר were officially brought into the synagogue, as a part of the תפלת הצבור, sometime between the twelfth and fourteenth century,—since we find that Maimonides, in his Mishne Torah (composed about 1180) still mentions the ברכות השחר as a part of the תפלת היחיד (comp. Mishne Torah, Hilkot Tefilah, ch. 7, 3–14), and we see that Jacob b. Asher (d. 1340) already treats these benedictions as a part of the synagogual liturgy.

During talmudic times, the ברכות השחר were recited privately by each individual while he was performing the various morning tasks, such as rising from bed, dressing, etc. Every Jew tried to recite the entire number of benedictions, i. e. one hundred, daily; to accomplish this, however, he had to eat, in addition to his regular meals, also fruits, liquid refreshments, and other delicacies. Not everyone could afford all this food, and consequently—it seems—a number of new and rather peculiar benedictions were made, in order to provide the necessary מאה ברכות. One can readily recognize that such benedictions as מעורר ישינים, מקיץ רדומים, משיח אלמים, mentioned in our text, were taken from נשמת, the song of praise to God.

The benediction מל ולא ערל, which appears to be unnecessary and meaningless, is, it seems to us, merely a continuation of the preceding benediction, and both should be read as one—שלא עשיתני גוי מל ולא ערל, meaning: 'the Almighty be blessed that He has not made me a גוי, even though the גוי be circumcised' (circumcision was known and even popular among the non-Jews of Palestine).

The curious benediction שלא עשיתני בהמה replaces the original expression שלא עשיתני בור, to which Rab Aḥa b. Jacob strongly objected (b. Menaḥot, 43 b), taking into consideration the effect this ברכה might make upon the עמי הארץ of his time. As a matter of fact, however, R. Meir, a disciple of Rabbi Akiba and the author of the three benedictions שלא עשני אשה, גוי, בור, feeling very deeply the Roman yoke, referred in the benedictions גוי and בור to the hated Romans.

Rab Aḥa b. Jacob then substituted עבד for בור; but the Palestinians first clung to the original בור, until later, due, perhaps, to the Babylonian influence, the term בור was changed to בהמה, alluding to the עם הדומה לחמור, under whose barbaric rule the Palestinians then lived.

Thus the Baraita mentioned in Babli חיב אדם לברך מאה ברכות בכל יום brought to light the first outline of our prayer book, and was instrumental in adding many interesting benedictions to the synagogual service.

TEXT IV

הבינינו—SHORT 'AMIDAH

MS. fol. 14.

הבינינו ה' אלקינו לדעת את דרכיך ומול את לבבינו ליראה את שמך סלח לנו גאלינו, רחקנו ממכאוב, דשנינו בנאות ארצך ונפוצים מארבע תקבץ והתועים בדבר משפט על דעתך ישפטו ועל רשעים ידך תניף וישמחו צדיקים בבניין עירך ובתיקון היכלך ובצמיחת קרן דוד עבדך ובעריכת נר בן דוד משיחך טרם נקרא אתה תענה בא"ה שומע תפילה

For the student of Jewish liturgy this text may be of interest, since it is different from the many other הבינו texts. It seems to be based on both Palestinian and Babylonian sources (comp. SRA and Yerushalmi, Berakot 4, 3). Mark the Palestinian version in סלח לנו גאלינו, and the Amram source in רחקנו ממכאוב. Note the Palestinian phrase ובצמיחת קרן דוד עבדך which is missing in the Amram text, and also ובעריכת נר בן דוד משיחך, instead of לבן ישי משיחך as used by the Babylonian Talmud and SRA.

TEXT V

ברכת המזון—GRACE AFTER MEALS

MS. fol. 65–68.

ברוך וברוך שמו הגדול ברוך זכרו וברוך מתנתו

ברוך אתה יי אלקינו מלך העולם, הזן את העולם כולו בטוב בחן בחסד וברחמים. הוא נותן לחם לכל בשר כי לעולם חסדו עמנו בטובו הגדול תמיד לא חסר לנו ואל יחסר לנו מזון לעולם ועד בעבור שמו הגדול. כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל ומתקין מזון לכל בריה אשר ברא. ברוך אתה יי הזן את הכל.

נודה לך יי אלהינו ונשבחך מלכנו ונפארך יוצרינו ונהדרך גואלינו ונהללך מושיענו ונקדישך בוראינו ונמליכך מלך יחיד חי העולמים שהינחלת את אבותינו ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה ברית ותורה וחיים ומזון ועל שהוצאתנו מארץ מצרים. ופדיתנו מבית עבדים. ועל בריתך שחתמתה בבשרנו. ועל תורתך שלימדתנו. ועל חוקי רצונך שהודעתנו. ועל חיים וחן וחסד ורחמים ומזונות שאתה חונן ומלוה אותנו בכל יום ובכל עת.

ועל כולם ה' אלקינו אנו מודים לך ומברכים את שם קודשך תמיד אלהי ישענו תתברך בפי כל חי ויתפאר שמך עלינו לעולם ועד כאמור ואכלת ושבעת וברכת את ה' אלקיך על הארץ הטובה אשר נתן לך חכור לנו ה' אלהינו את ברית אבותינו והנקמנו משונאינו ובישועתך תרום ותגבה קרנינו והושיענו. כל החיים יודוך סלה ברוך את' ה' על הארץ ועל המזון.

בשב"ת וימ"ם טובים וראש חוד"ש וחנוכ"ה או"מ נחמינ"ו

נחמינו ה' אלקינו בציון עירך ושמחינו מלכינו בביניין בית בחירתך ומלכותך ומלכות בית דוד משיחך במהרה תחזירם למקומם ויבוא אליהו ומשיח בן דויד במהרה בימינו. רצה והחליצינו ה' אלקינו במצוותיך ובמצות יום השביעי הגדול והקדוש הזה כי יום גדול וקדוש הוא מלפניך נשבות בו ונוח בו כמצוות רצונך ואל תהא צרה ויגון ביום מנוחתינו כי אמר דוד הניח ה' אלקי ישראל לעמו וישכון בירושלם עד לעולם ונאמ' שם אצמיח קרן לדוד . . . (כי אתה

הוא בעל הנחמות ובעל הישועות) ברוך אתה ה' מנחם עמו בבניין ירושלם אמן בחיינו במהרה בימינו חבנה ציון ותיכון העבודה בירושלים.

רחם ה' אלקינו עלינו ועל כל ישראל עמך ועל ירושלים עירך, ועל ציון משכן כבודך, ועל מלכות בית דוד משיחך ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש שנקרא שמך עליו ועלינו. רועינו זוננו פרנסינו וכלכלנו, הרויחנו. הרווח לנו מהרה מכל צרותינו. ואל תצריכינו ה' אלקינו לידי מתנת בשר ודם, שמתנתם מעוטה וחרפתם מרובה אלא לידך המלאה והרחבה, והנוראה כי בשם קודשך הגדול והנורא בטחנו, לא נבוש ולא ניכלם לא בעוה"ז ולא לעוה"ב. ואע"פ שאכלנו ושתינו חורבן ביתך לא שכחנו ואל תשכחינו ה' אלקינו ואל תעזבינו מלכינו ואל תטשינו גואלינו ואל תכלימנו בבקשתינו ואל תתינו בנפש אויבינו ואל תפר בריתך אתנו ויבוא אליהו הנ' ומשיח בן דויד במהרה בימינו. ובנה ירושלם עירך במהרה בימינו ברוך אתה ה' בונה ירושלים אמן.

בר"ח

(נחמינו ה' אלהינו בציון עירך. ושמחינו מלכינו בביניין בית בחירתך. ומלכותך ומלכות בית דוד משיחך במהרה תחזירנה למקומה. ויבוא אליהו ומשיח בן דוד במהרה בימינו. או"א יעלה ויבוא . . .)

ב'א'ה' אלקינו מלך העולם האל אבינו מלכינו אדירנו גואלינו יוצרינו קדושינו קדוש יעקב רועינו רועה ישראל, המלך החי הטוב והמטיב לכל שבכל יום ויום הוא מטיב עמנו הוא גמלנו והוא עתיד לגומלינו והוא ינמלנו לעד, חן וחסד ורווח, ורחמים וברכה והצלחה וכל טוב

הרחמן הוא יתברך על כסא כבודו
" " " " מלכותו
" " ישתבח בשמים ובארץ
" " " לדורי דורים
" " יתהדר לעלם ולעלמי עולמים
" " יפרנסינו בכבוד
" " יהיה לנו עזר וסומך בכל דרכינו
" " יצליחנו בכל דרכינו
" " ישלח ברכה והצלחה בכל מעשה ידינו
" " יברך משאינו ומתנינו
" " ינונינו במנינו
" " יסוככינו באברתו
" " יתן בלבנו ליראה אותו
" " יפתח לנו שערי פרנסה וכלכלה
" " יצילינו מגלות
" " " מעניות
" " " משמד
" " " מגיות
" " " מכל מיני פורעניות

הרחמן הוא ירבה את גבולינו בתלמידים
" " יטע תורתו ויראתו בלבנו
" " ישבור עול גוים מעל צווארינו
" " יגביה קרנינו למעלה מעלה
" " ישפיל כל שונאינו מטה מטה
" " יפרוס סוכת שלומו עלינו
" " יבנה ביתו במהרה בימינו

הרחמן הוא ישלח לנו את אליקו הנביא זכור לטוב ויברך את כל אחד ואחד ממנו בשמו. מגדול ישועות מלכו ועושה חסד למשיחו לדוד ולזרעו עד עולם. הרחמן הוא ישים עלינו ברכה וחיים ושלום. עושה שלום במרומיו הוא יעשה שלום על כל ישראל. כפירים רשו ורעבו ודורשי ה' לא יחסרו כל טוב. אלקים יחונינו ויברכנו ויאר פניו אתנו סלה. לה' הישועה ועל עמך ברכתך סלה. (ואומ' סברי מרנן והן עונין לחיים ומברך באהאמה . . .)

Our text of the ברכת המזון, the grace after meals, presents a very interesting problem. While the first two benedictions show distinct traces of the Palestinian ritual,—as ברית, בטוב (בחן) בחסד ותורה, and others,—the third benediction, רחם, resembles rather the Babylonian-Spanish ritual. However, the Sabbath text of the third benediction again bears marked Palestinian characteristics, since it refers to נחמה, consolation, both at the beginning and end of the benediction; for, according to R. Ḥananel, the old Baraita (b. Berakot, 48b) ובשבת מתחיל בנחמה ומסיים בנחמה, should be interpreted literally,—and therefore, our Sabbath benediction begins with נחמינו, and closes with מנחם עמו.

It is interesting to note, that the strong objection of Saadia Gaon against making any changes in the phraseology of the ברכת המזון for the Sabbath, did not affect our text, as it seems to have affected the text in the Genizah fragment No. 18 (Mann, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. II, 335). For, although Saadia maintains that the talmudic phrase ובשבת מתחיל בנחמה ומסיים בנחמה should not be taken literally, and the third benediction, therefore, with its beginning רחם, and its conclusion בונה, should be retained for the Sabbath,—nevertheless, our text did not make any concessions, and changed the third benediction of the ברכת המזון for שבת.

FACSIMILE OF FOLIO 73 OF OUR MS.

The Short 'Amidah

(for published text, see page 97 of this book)

This text is in Doctor Solomon Schechter's own handwriting. The photograph was prepared by the author of this book.

ובדרכיו הישרים אינן נמצאין לו אם אתה עיין היטב תמצא שאין יראת שמים
לפניו ויתורת הן הן והבינותיו ורוחו מלוכלכת מעשיו מגונים שבעת אילת
אהבים ויעלת חנים עשבים ומעדנים אינן כאיני עשבים ומעדנים
שלנו אלא הן בעיני עשבים ומעדנים. ואין לך בהן שיהא ראוי לקרבן
לפני המקום ברוך הוא אלא הלבונה בלבד ואפילו הלבונה אינה
ראויה לקרבן אלא אם כן היתה נקיה מן הקליפות שבה ומן הגרגרין
שבה ומן הקשין שבה ומן הקטורת שבה ומן הסמנים שבה ומן
הכלים שבה ומן הכלי שבה ומן הכלי שבה ומן הכלי שבה ומן
הכלי

TEXT VI

מעין שמונה עשרה—THE SHORT 'AMIDOT

1. MINḤAH

MS. fol. 73.

Week Days

(. . . וכשיגיע זמן המנחה בחול . . . ופותח החזן ואומ' בא"ה . . . קונה שמים וארץ ואו"מ' מעי"ן שמונ"ה עש"רה . . .)

אדון למענך עזרינו וגוננינו		ב'א'ה' מגן אברהם
ברעיפת טל, (בחורף) בגבורות גשם החיינו	"	מחיה . . .
גודלך יתקדש בנו	"	האל הקדוש
דיעה וחכמה מפיך למדינו	"	חונן הדעת
הדור אליך השיבינו	"	הרוצה . . .
ומחה כעב פשעינו	"	חנון . . .
זרז זמן קץ גאולתינו	"	גואל . . .
חתל מכאובי לבנו	"	רופא . . .
טוב טלליך ונשמיך ינובבו ויתברכו שנותינו	"	מברך
יאתיו מקצות פזורינו	"	מקבץ
כשופטך תכריע צדקינו	"	מלך אוהב צדקה . . .
להבהב דחה כל אויבינו וצרינו	"	שובר אויבים . . .
מעז ומנוס משען ומבטח היה לנו	"	משען ומבטח . . .
נעלח בבנין קרית נגידינו	"	בונה ירושלים אמן.

(את צמח דוד מהרה תצמיח וקרנו תרום בישועתך
כי לישועתך קוינו כל היום ב'א'ה' מצמיח קרן ישועה)

שא נא שיח פילולינו		ב'א'ה' שומע תפלה
עולות כאז רצה נא שיח שפתותינו		ב'א'ה' שאותך לבדך ביראה נעבוד
(מודים אנחנו לך שאתה הוא ה' אלקינו ואלקי אבותינו על		
טובותינו אשר מעולם על חסדיך ורחמיך אשר מימי קדם		
פדותינו תחיש ונודה לך מטיבינו	"	הטוב שמך . . .
צ'ורינו ק'דושינו ר'וב ש'לום ת'עטרינו	"	עושה השלום . . .

TEXT VII

מעין שמונה עשרה—THE SHORT 'AMIDOT

2. FAST DAY

(. . . ומתחיל תפלת יוצר ומתפללין בלחש ואחר כך פותח בתפילת הרבים . . .)

MS. fol. 82.

ברוך אתה . . . קונה שמים וארץ.

אנא אלקינו אזון שוועינו, עזרנו ומגינינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' מגן אברהם

" " ביטה בעוניינו, בנשמים החיינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' מחיה המתים

(נקדישך ונעריצך)

" " גלה מלכותך עלינו, ונעריצך מלכנו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' האל הקדוש

" " דתך למדינו, דעת הבינינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' חונן הדעת

" " האירה עינינו, ורצה תשובתינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' הרוצה בתשובה

" " ונקראך ותענינו, ולסלח לעונינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' חנון המרבה לסלוח

(פתיחה . . . סליחות)

" " זכור ברית אבותינו, במהרה גאלינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' גואל ישראל

" " חון שאריתנו, ורפא מכאובינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' רופא . . .

" " טהר טומאותינו, וברך בטל ובגשם שנותינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' מברך . . .

" " יחד ליראתך לבבינו, ונקבץ נפוצותינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' מקבץ . . .

" " כנס שבטינו, בשופטך צדקינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' מלך אוהב . . .

" " לחם כל לוחמינו, ומזידים מלטינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' שובר אויבים . . .

" " מלוך עלינו, היה מבטחינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' משען . . .

" " נחם היכלינו, בנה ביתך בימינו והושיענו

ב'א'ה' בונה . . .

(את צמח דוד מהרה תצמיח וקרנו תרום במהרה בימינו

ב'א'ה' מצמיח קרן ישועה)
אנא אלקינו סמוך סוכתינו, ושמע תפילתינו והושיענו
ב'א'ה' שומע תפילה
" " ענה עתירתינו, ובעבודתך תרצינו והושיענו
ב'א'ה' שאותך לבדך ביראה...
[אנא אלקינו רחום רחמינו ברחמיך הרבים מהרה השב שכינתך לציון וסידרי עבודתך לירושלים עירך ואתה ברחמים תחפוץ ותרצינו ב'א'ה' שאותך לבדך ביראה נעבוד. מודים אנחנו לך שאתה הוא ה' אלקינו ואלקי אבותינו על טובתיך אשר מעולם על חסדיך ורחמיך אשר מימי קדם]
אנא אלקינו פנה אלינו, ומטובך שבעינו והושיענו
ב'א'ה' הטוב...
" " צוה ישועתינו, ובשלומך תברכינו והושיענו ב'א'ה' אלקינו מפיך תברכינו ככתוב אלהים יחונינו... ושמו... ואני אברכם ברוב עח ושלום ב"א'ה המברך...

TEXT VIII

THE KEROBOT

קרובה של מוסף לשבת—MUSAF KEROBAH

Sabbath

a.

MS. fol. 123.

(... ויש נוהגין להתפלל פיוט כגון זה. ופותח ואומ' ברוך אתה עד אל עליון קונה שמים וארץ...)
ז'ה אתה אלקי תהלתינו, מגיננו ומגן אבותינו
ב'א'ה' מגן אברהם
ב'וטחיך יחיו בגשמ"י בטלל"י זבולך, ממית ומחיה ואין דומה לך
ב'א'ה' מחיה המתים
כתר
ד'גול מרבבות תרשישים, לך יאמרו קדוש קדושים
ב'א'ה' האל הקדוש
י'ום ענוגה תתה לעם קניתה, קרבנות מוספיו למשה צ(י?)ויתה
נעשה ונקריב לפניך את קרבן חובותינו, תמידי יום וקרבן מוסף שבת
ב'א'ה' מקדש השבת
ה'שב לנו ניחומים בכפליים, ו'נזכה לעבדך במהרה כרצונך בירושלם
ב'א'ה' שאותך לבדך
ח'ושה חי שכון בקרבינו, ז'מר נודה לך מטיבינו
ב'א'ה' הטוב שמך
ק'ומם בית בחירתך, ושים עלינו שלומך וטובך וברכתך
ב'א'ה' המברך

TEXT IX

MUSAF KEROBAH

Sabbath

MS. fol. 124. b. (מוסף אחר)

וענוים אהובך רצים לעובדך, נוגנם כאברהם עבדך

ב'א'ה' מגן אברהם

ירשו ברכה בגשמ"י בטלל"י שמיך, כיצחק הנעקד למען שמך

ב'א'ה' מחיה המתים

ארץ גדלת למישור עקוב למקדישך קדוש

ב'א'ה' האל הקדוש

והתעגו דביקיך בענוגה ובכפל, כמשה נגש אל הערפל

ב'א'ה' מקדש השבת

על המזבח נרצה אותו, כאהרן ובניו איתו (אתו?)

ב'א'ה' שאותך לבדך

רוב טוב צפוניו נודה, ונמצא חן כאלעזר בן אהרן הכהן

ב'א'ה' הטוב שמך

שלום זרעינו נחסן ונתאזר כפנחס בן אלעזר

ב'א'ה' המברך

TEXT X

MUSAF KEROBAH

Sabbath

MS. fol. 124. c. מוסף אחר

פיקודיך שומרים תמיד להנן, ואתה ה' מגן

ב'א'ה' מגן אברהם

פליטת שארית בט"ל בגש"ם תחיה, ה' ממית ומחיה

ב'א'ה' מחיה המתים וקדושה

וויעוד שמך נקדיש בחיבה, אל נערץ בסוד קדושים רבה

ב'א'ה' האל הקדוש

לאט נהל שומרי שבת, לעשות את יום השבת (נעשה ונקריב)

ב'א'ה' מקדש השבת

אמרי פי יקובלו ברצון, עולותיהם וזבחיהם לרצון

ב'א"ה' שאותך

ועמך ה' האמרתה אותך לחטוב, גם ה' יתן הטוב

ב'א'ה' הטוב שמך

נורא וחזק ברכינו בתשלום, ה' יברך את עמו בשלום

ב'א'ה' המברך

27390

TEXT XI

SHORT KEROBOT FOR MINḤAH OF SABBATH

קרובה למנחה של שבת וראש חודש.—AND ROSH-ḤODESH

ויש נוהגין לומ׳ בתפילת הרבים במנחה בשבת לחדש פיוטים כגון אלו.

a.

(ברוך אתה-אל עליון קונה שמים וארץ)

MS. fol. 141.

אני אריב את ריבך יאמר לבת ציון
אני כציפורים עפות אגונן ירושלם
כי לך הוחלתי
אל תשמחי לי אויבתי כי נפלתי קמתי,
אל עחר ומגן קוה קויתי
ב׳א׳ה׳ מגן...
ביתי יבנה בה יאמר לבת ציון
באור טללים (נשמים אחיה) אעורר ישיני ירושלים
כי לך הוחלתי
אל תשמחי לי...
ממית ומחיה קוה קויתי
ב׳א׳ה׳ מחיה...נקדישך...
גואלך הנה זה בא יאמר לבת ציון
גוי קדוש אקדש ותתקדש ירושלים
כי לך הוחלתי
אל תשמחי לי...
אל נורא וקדוש קוה קויתי
ב׳א׳ה׳ האל הקדוש
דרך כוכב מיעקב יאמר לבת ציון
דגול פרה את יעקב ותתענג ירוש׳
כי לך הוחלתי
אל תשמחי לי...
אל נותן מנוחה קוה קויתי
ב׳א׳ה׳ מקדש השבת
הרחיבי מקום אהלך יאמר לבת ציון
העבודה תשיב ותרצה ירושל׳
כי לך הוחלתי
אל תשמחי לי...
אל רוצה עבודה קוה קויתי
ב׳א׳ה׳ שאותך לבדך...
(מודים...מימי קדם)

וערל וטמא לא יעבור בך, יאמר לבת ציון
ונשיר ונזמר בתוך ירוש'

כי לך הוחלתי

אל תשמחי לי...
אל טוב ומטיב קוה קויתי
ב'א'ה' הטוב שמך
זכרתי לך חסד נעוריך יאמר לבת ציון
זאת אות שלום, שאלי שלום ירוש'

כי לך הוחלתי

אל תשמחי לי...
לאל משים שלום אהללה. ללובש עח וגדולה

TEXT XII

b.

MS. fol. 141.

(אחר)
אהללה ללובש עח וגדולה
איחלה למחיש קץ גאולה
אנה קומה ותמגן יונה תמה
ב'א'ה' מגן
בכל יום אשקוד על דלתותיו יום יום
ותחיש יום למחכיך לילה ויום
אנא קומה ותחיה בט"ל בגש"ם יונה תמה
ב'א'ה' מחיה... נקדישך
גדור נא, אבן שומה על ראש פינה
קרית חנה ונאמ' קומו כי בנה
אנא קומ' ותוקדש ביונה תמה
ב'א'ה' האל הקדוש
דברך האמת, הרשום בכתב אמת
דין אמת חון זרע כולו אמת
אנא קומה ותנפיש ליונה תמה
ב'א'ה' מקדש השבת
השיבה לי ששון ישע גילי
ותבוא אלי ותשכון כמאז בהיכלי
אנא קומ' ותרצה בשיי ליונה תמה
ב'א'ה' שאותך... מודים...
ותבוא מאדום ותופיע בלבוש אדום
ואל נא תידום זכור ה' לבני אדום
אנא קומ' ותטיב ליונה תמה
ב'א'ה' הטוב שמך

זכור לנו דברך אשר ייחלתנו
כי לך עינינו למה לנצח תשכחינו
אנא קום' ותברך בשלום ליונה חמה
ב'א'ה' עושה השלום

Of these seven texts, containing 'Amidah benedictions for various occasions, I consider two, אדון למענך and אנא אלקינו אזון שוועינו, as short 'Amidot, composed to substitute the regular 'Amidah, while the others, to my mind, are only short Kerobot, to be inserted at the end of each benediction. Such small piyyutim were quite in vogue in Palestine; later some of them crept into Babylon, and were even adopted there.

The two short 'Amidot are:

1. For the Minḥah services on week days—fol. 73, אדון למענך

2. For morning services on Fast Days—fol. 82, אנא אלקינו אזון שוועינו

According to fol. 13 of our MS., it was customary to recite short piyyutim or חרזין in the 'Amidah of week-days. In speaking of these piyyutim, the author could not have meant the אדון למענך and אנא אלקינו אזון שוועינו, since these are called in our MS. מעין שמונה עשרה or תפלת הרבים; he must have had reference to the Kerobot. And since all seven texts belong to the 'Amidah, we have arranged them together, and not according to the pages of the MS.

Let us first examine the short 'Amidot:

a. אדון למענך

The Palestinian origin of this text cannot be doubted. It is a short 'Amidah, a מעין שמונה עשרה, in which, following Rab's interpretation of R. Joshua's מעין י"ח (b. Berakot, 29a, and Yer. Berakot IV, 3, and 8a) all eighteen benedictions, including the ברכות ראשונות וג' אחרונות וג', were shortened. Such a short 'Amidah was permissible, whenever necessity

demanded. In Italy, and perhaps even in Palestine, this 'Amidah was recited daily at Minḥah.

When the Babylonians adopted this short 'Amidah for the Friday evening and holiday services, they recited the first two benedictions, אבות and גבורות, in full, and shortened the others beginning with the third benediction, אתה קדוש בנו (comp. *Eshkol* I, 55); the Palestinians, on the other hand, shortened the first benediction to אדון למענך עוזרינו וגוננינו, and the second to ברעיפת טל—for the summer, and בנבורות גשם—for the winter, thus paraphrasing the מגן אברהם and מחיה מתים with גוננינו and החיינו.

The expression ברעיפת טל shows, too, the Palestinian way of mentioning dew at the second benediction. For, while according to b. Taanit 3a—בטל וברוחות לא חייבו חכמים להזכיר, we learn from Yer. Taanit 1, 1 (63d), that ever since the time of R. Joḥanan, טל has been mentioned in the second benediction of the 'Amidah. א"ר יוחנן כל שלשים יום חזקה מה שהוא למוד הזכיר, מיכן והילך מה שצורך יזכיר. This may also have been the reason why the Babylonians did not use the shortened version of the second benediction, and rather began shortening the 'Amidah in the third benediction.

Another Palestinian feature of the 'Amidah is that the first benediction contains קונה שמים וארץ following the אל עליון of Gen. 14, 19. The omission of shortening the צמח דוד, again shows the Palestinian origin of our text.

A closer study of this text will reveal the original form of three words in each benediction, as for instance:

אדון למענך גוננינו, בעריפת טל החיינו, גודלך יתקדש בנו
דיעה מפיך למדינו, הדור אליך השיבינו, ומחה כעב פשעינו,
זרז זמן גאולתינו, חתל מכאובי לבינו, טלליך ינובבו שנותינו
יאתיו מקצות פזורינו, כשופטך תכריע צדקינו, להבהב דחה אויבינו,
משען היה לנו, נעלז בבנין קריתינו, שא נא פילולינו, עולות רצה שפתותינו
פדותינו תחיש מטיבינו, צ'ורינו ק'דושינו ר'וב ש'לום ת'עטרנו

The last line has five words to complete the alphabet. The sixth line I read: ומחה כעב פשעינו, and not, as Mann reads it, ומחה רוב פשעינו.

b.

The second short 'Amidah, for Fast Days, starts with ב'א'ה' . . . קונה שמים וארץ, which is followed by אנא אלקינו אזון שוועינו. As we can see from its contents and style, it is a very old Palestinian מעין שמונה עשרה.

The other five texts, the short Kerobot, are:

1. For the Musaf service on Sabbath:
   a. זה אחה אלקי תהלתינו, fol. 123
   b. וענוים אהובך, fol. 124
   c. פיקודיך שומרים תמיד להגן, fol. 124
2. For the Minḥah service on Sabbath and New Moon:
   a. אני אריב את ריבך, fol. 141
   b. אהללה ללובש עוז וגדולה, fol. 141

The Kerobah זה אחה reveals the acrostic חזק זבדיהו, while in פיקודיך an acrostic forming the name פלטיאל can be found. The late Solomon Schechter remarked on this Kerobah: 'אולי הוא פלטיאל.'

TEXT XIII

תפלת מעריב—MA'ARIB FOR WEEK DAYS.

MS. fol. 75.

. . . ב'א'ה' גאל ישראל
נשכבה בחסדך ונקיצה ונשבעה באמונתך ופחד וצרה ושטן בלילות אל ימשול כאמור אם תשכב לא תפחד ושכבת וערבה שנתך. ושומרינו והצילינו מכל דבר רע והשמד שטן מלפנינו ומאחרינו ושמור צאתנו ובאינו מעתה ועד עולם כי שומרינו ומצילינו אתה ב'א'ה' שומר עמו ישראל לעד.
(ויש שאין אומרין נשכבה בחסדך אלא אומרין השכיבנו. . .)

Reading this text, we see that the author of the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot was acquainted with both the Babylonian השכיבנו and the Palestinian נשכבה. Our text of נשכבה בחסדך is longer than the version in the *REJ* of Israel Levi (Vol. LIII, p. 231), and contains also Babylonian elements of the Seder Ṙab Amram.

TEXT XIV

ק"ש על המיטה—NIGHT PRAYER

MS. fol. 91.

וכשקורא ק"ש על מטתו אומר פרשה ראשונה ופרשה שניה שמע והיה אם שמוע. וכך מתחיל.

בר' את' ה' אלקינו מלך העולם אשר קידשנו במצוותיו וצונו לקרוא קרית שמע ולהזכירו בלבב שלם ולהמליכו בנפש חפיצה אמן. אל מלך נאמן שמע ישראל- כל הפרשה והיה אם שמוע כל הפרשה. באהאמה המפיל חבלי שינה על העינים ומשקיע תרדימה על העפעפים, ומנוחה לאישון בת עין. יה"ר מלפניך ה' אלקי ואלקי אבותיי שתרניליני לדבר מצוה ואל תרגיליני לדבר עבירה ותשלט בי יצר טוב ואל תשלט בי יצר הרע ותחזקני במצוותיך ותן חלקי בתורתך ותניני לחן ולחסד ולרחמים בעיניך ובעיני כל רואיי ואל תביאיני לידי ניסיון וביזיון ולא לידי הרהור עבירה ועוון ותשכיביני על מטתי לשלום, והעמידיני ממטתי לחיים ולשלום ואל יבהלוני חלומות רעים ולא הירהורים רעים ולא פגעים רעים, האירה עיני פן אישן המות אני שכבתי ואישנה הקיצותי כי ה' יסמכני בשלום יחדו אשכבה ואישן כי אתה ה' לבדד לבטח תושיביני. אחישה מפלט לי מרוח סועה מסער. אתה סתר לי מצר לי רני פלט תסובבני סלה. הנה מטתו של שלמה ששים גבורים סביב לה מגבורי ישראל כולם אחזי חרב... מפחד בלילות. שיר למעלות אשא עיני... בשלום. ה' עוז לעמו יתן... בשלום. נשכבה בשלום ונקיצה בשלום ופחד בלילות בנו אל ימשל ברוך המאיר לעולם כולו בכבודו. יושב בסתר עליון כל המזמור. לישועתך קויתי ה'. ה' קויתי לישועתך. הן אתם מאין ופעלכם מאפע תעבה יבחר בכם. ויאמר ה' אל השטן... מוצל מאש. ברוך ה' ביום ברוך ה' בלילה ברוך ה' בשוכבנו ברוך ה' בקומנו. האלקים אשר בידו נפש כל חי ורוח כל בשר איש. בידך אפקיד רוחי פדיתה אותי ה' אל אמת. אלהינו שבשמים יחד שמך ויכרך, וקיים מלכותך תמיד עלינו לעולם ועד. ויש שאומ' נשכבה בחסדך וחותם ברוך שומר עמו ישראל לעד.

This text is important for our study of the development of the Shema, and the significance it acquired in Jewish liturgy.

First, we learn from this text that the third part of the Shema, ויאמר, was not an essential part of the תפלת־היחיד. And it was a long time before the rabbis of the opposition became convinced of the importance of ויאמר in the evening Shema, even in the תפלת־הצבור. (comp. b. Berakot, 12b). For, even in the 4th century, it was not customary in Palestine to recite the entire third chapter in the evening

Shema, neither in the תפלת היחיד, nor in the תפלת הצבור (b. Ber. 14b).

We find that the Palestinian Talmud speaks of two פרשיות only. We also read in Yer. Ber. I, 9 and I, 8, that Rabbi Simon says that the benedictions of the morning and evening Shema should be equal: הגיית היום והלילה שוין. This statement is made by Rabbi Simon after enjoining that in the morning two benedictions should be recited before, and one benediction after the Shema: בשחר מברך שתים לפניה ואחת לאחריה; and in the evening two benedictions should be recited before, and two after the Shema: ובערב מברך שתים לפניה ושתים לאחריה. Considering the three פרשיות of the Shema,—שמע, והיה אם שמוע, ויאמר—as benedictions, the Palestinians should have said each morning six benedictions, and each evening, seven benedictions. But Rabbi Simon claims that הגיית היום והלילה שוין; therefore we may readily assume that the third פרשה of the Shema, ויאמר, was omitted during the evening prayers, and thus the first two פרשיות of the Shema—שמע and והיה,—together with the other four benedictions, שתים לפניה ושתים לאחריה, formed the six benedictions recited in the evening, and were equivalent in number to those recited in the morning.

And even when, in the year 90, at the memorable conference in Jabneh, the opposition was broken, and a strong propaganda was begun that ויאמר be included in the evening Shema, in order to popularize the observance of ציצית,—only two פרשיות remained for the תפלת היחיד, as is evidenced by our text.

We further note in this text the special benediction introducing the Shema. Such an introductory benediction is not mentioned in the old Talmudic literature, and it cannot be placed among the many benedictions introduced by the Rabbis for the various occasions. The declaration of the Jewish faith as incorporated in the Shema does not necessi-

tate any special introductory benediction, since this declaration is incumbent upon the Jew at all times, and not only in the morning and in the evening. Even the benedictions recited before and after the Shema (שתים לפניה ואחת לאחריה in the morning, and שתים לפניה ושתים לאחריה in the evening), although important parts of the liturgy, are only associated with the Shema, but not dependent upon it (comp. Solomon ben Aderet, comm. to Berakot).

We are thus able to understand the opposition of Hai Gaon against this benediction, considering it a ברכה שאינה צריכה ומוציא שם שמים לבטלה (comp. *Shaare Teshubah*, 57). The later Rabbis, as Tosaphot (Berakot 2a), Asher ben Jeḥiel (beginning of Berakot), Abudraham (p. 23), and others also strongly objected to this benediction.

Although the origin of this benediction is rather obscure, it seems that it was primarily intended for the ק"ש על המטה; in the course of time it was introduced into the Shaḥrit and Maarib services of the תפלת היחיד, as is evidenced by many Genizah fragments. The purpose of it may have been to substitute the ברכו את ה' המבורך, which could only be recited at the communal service, תפלת הציבור. Thus, the opinion of Dr. Mann that this benediction was instituted as an introduction to the יוצר ת' even in the תפלת הצבור, can hardly be correct.

It is due to the Babylonian opposition that this benediction totally disappeared from all Jewish prayer books; it was preserved in the Seder Ḥibbur Berakot, as an introduction to the תפלת ק"ש על המטה. Hence, the existence of this purely Palestinian benediction in the Oxford MS. of the Seder Rab Amram (comp. Ginzberg, *Geonica* I, 135), is doubtless a later interpolation.

At this point it may be of interest to note the curious wording after the second benediction preceding the Shema הבוחר בעמו ישראל באהבה. Our MS. concludes this benedic-

tion with אמן, and follows it with אל מלך נאמן. In our opinion, this phrase originated as a result of the objections raised by some Palestinian Rabbis against replying אמן to one's benedictions—הפורס את שמע אחר עצמו; this אמן was later dissolved into אל מלך נאמן (b. Sabbath, 119b). Our MS., however, preserved both versions. Ginzberg's assumption that the אל מלך נאמן was intended to replace the original benediction אקב"ו להמליכו (*Geonica*, I, 138), is hardly probable.

TEXT XV

מעריב לליל שבת—FRIDAY EVENING

MS. fol. 96.

(. . . ובערב שבת הולכין לבתי כנסיות ואומ' תהילה. . . ומתפללין מעריב ואין אומ' והוא רחום ופותח שליח צבור ברכו כולו. . . תמיד הוא ימלוך עלינו לעולם ועד).

את שבת קודשך הנחלתה לעם מקדישך
בשיכנך נדרשך
דוד מעריב ערב נקדישך

ב'א'ה' המעריב ערבים
(אהבת עולם. . .-יומם ולילה)

באות בינינו ובינך תנפישינו במחנך
ותעוז ימינך, ואוהבינו למענך

ב'א'ה' אוהב עמו ישראל
(קרית שמע, אמת ואמונה. . . .
וראו בנים את גבורתו)

גבולינו שים הנחה בהשקט ובטחה
צרינו שית כמכת בכורים וכסוחה
וכעברו ים שיר לך נשיחה
בגילה ברינה בשמחה רבה

ואמרו כולם מי כמוכה . . . עושה פלא

דועכו מפריכים הוצלו פרוכים
ולעשים (ולעושה בים) דרכים זמרו רבים

זה צור ישענו פצו פה ואמרו
ה' ימלוך לעולם ועד

העת יוגבר, המוליך עמו במדבר
ויגיע כמדובר, ויגאלנו כמו שלעבר

ב'א'ה' גאל ישראל

וכס בחסד יכון ועמו בתוכו ישכון
ובטח נשכון, ונתלונן בשלום מכון

ב'א'ה' פורש סוכת שלום עלינו
ועל עמו ישראל ועל ירושלים.
ושמרו–וינפש

Although this text has already been published by Mann, in his article 'Genizah Fragments,' *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. 2, p. 321, I deem it advisable to have it reprinted, both for the sake of accuracy, and also because of a few new readings that I wish to suggest.

The fourth word in the second stanza of our piyyut is תנפישינו, from נפש, to rest (comp. שבת וינפש), instead of תופישינו, as given by Mann.

The third line of the third stanza should read וכעברו ים שיר לך נשיחה, meaning: "Like those who crossed the Red Sea, we shall sing a song unto Thee." Mann reads it וכעברנים שיר לך נשיחה.

The second line in the fourth stanza should read, I think, ולעושה בים דרכים, referring to הנותן בים דרך in Isaiah 43, 16. Mann reads it ולעשים דרכים.

The second line in the fifth stanza I read וינאלנו כמו שלעבר. Mann reads it כשלעבר.

At this point I wish to touch another problem, which has been discussed by Doctor Mann, and which, to my mind, should be differently treated.

After the 'Amidah of ליל שבת, our MS. gives the following directions for the Friday evening synagogual service: ... פותח ש"ץ ואומ' עת להקדיש. ויכולו ... לעשות. בא"י ... אל עליון קונה שמים וארץ. מגן אבות ... מקדש השבת ... ולמה פותח ש"ץ עת להקדיש ואומ' ויכולו כולו וכולל תפלה זו ומסיים בה מקדש השבת כדי להוציא ידי חובתן מידי קדוש לאורחים שבבית הכנסת .. "The reader announces:

'It is time to recite the Kiddush,' " and our MS. goes on to describe the rest of the synagogual service for ליל שבת; the procedure described in our MS. is almost identical with the Sabbath service in an orthodox synagogue of today.

However, our MS. does not give the text of the Kiddush at this point. Obviously, the copyist did not care to copy the Kiddush twice, and therefore placed it only on another page in our MS., on fol. 103, where the home Kiddush is discussed. The text there states: וזה הוא קידוש של לילי שבתות נוטלין של יין ואומ' עת להקדיש ויכולו וכו', and then follows the usual version of the Kiddush.

Thus, the 'עת להקדיש,' does not refer to the מגן אבות at all. The real Kiddush is on fol. 103, since it contains all requisite elements, and begins with אשר קדשנו במצותיו (according to b. Pesaḥim 117b דקידושא אשר קדשנו במצותיו, while דצלותא קדשנו במצותיך). Furthermore, according to Rab Aḥa b. Jacob, the Kiddush must contain direct reference to יציאת מצרים, or it is not Kiddush. The מגן אבות contains neither אשר קדשנו, nor יציאת מצרים. In the קדושת היום of the 'Amidah קדשנו במצותיך is used, but that is a prayer a צלותא, and not a קידושא.

We also note that Dr. Mann makes the following statement on page 313 of the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. 2: "After the 'Amidah the Reader announces 'it is time to say the Kiddush' (עת להקדיש) this consisting of מגן אבות and ויכולו." From this statement, the reader gets the impression that the words "this consisting of etc." are translated from the text, and this, as we have already proven, is hardly correct.

In Yerushalmi, Berakot 11d, we find a statement of R. Jose b. Abun—to which Frumkin refers in his edition of Seder Rab Amram II, 24, and Mann on page 317 of the *Hebrew Union College Annual*—to the effect, that במקום שאין יין where wine is not obtainable, one should dispense

with the Kiddush, and go on with the ברכה אחת מעין שבע; but when wine can be procured, then the Kiddush should be recited. It is hard to understand how Mann could get support from this Yerushalmi for his supposition that the מגן אבות is the Kiddush. The Yerushalmi clearly disproves this theory.

That our MS. does not consider מגן אבות as the real Kiddush, can further be seen from the fact that, on fol. 99, the author of our text gives as the reason for reciting the מגן אבות—that it is a protection מפני המזיקין; at the same time he also explains that the announcement עת להקדיש, is for the benefit of the strangers and those who are unable to recite the Kiddush: ולמה פותח ש"ץ עת להקדיש . . . כדי להוציא ידי חובתן מידי קידוש לאורחים שבבית הכנסת ושאינן יודעין לקדש ושומעין מפי ש"ץ ויוצאין ידי חובתן. ומאחר שאינן יודעין לקדש שומעין ופטורין מידי קידוש ולמה חוזרין ומקדשין על השלחן כדי להוציא אדם בניו ובני ביתו ידי חובתם . . . וזה הוא קידוש של לילי שבתות . . . the usual version of the Kiddush follows. (The ולמה חוזרין ומקדשין in the above paragraph is further proof that the same Kiddush was recited both in the synagogue and at home).

Thus, it is quite evident that we have here two different items: the מגן אבות, that was instituted מפני הסכנה or מפני המזיקין (Rashi, b. Sabbath, 24b), and the synagogual Kiddush (b. Pesaḥim, 117b), that was primarily instituted for the benefit of the guests and strangers who had their Friday evening meals at the synagogue. The reason מפני המזיקין, as given by our author and the Geonim, is the same as מפני הסכנה, used by the Talmud; it may mean "for fear of the government" (comp. Jacob Schorr, *Ittim*, p. 178), the Romans or the Persians, who made decrees against public worship,—and later, although the danger of such decrees disappeared, the custom of reading מגן אבות still remained. The Rabbis merely added another reason for it, namely, כדי להמתין על מאן דלא מצלי, in order to wait for the late-

comers. The synagogual Kiddush also lost its practical significance, since the custom of serving Sabbath meals to strangers in the synagogue was given up,—nevertheless, the קידוש בביהכ"נ continued to be recited: אע"פ שבטל השמד המנהג לא בטל, Yer. Ketubot, I, 5.

Judaism does not part willingly with any of its old observances, as long as those observances have the power to awaken some inspiring thought or memory. The Kiddush in the synagogue now gained a new significance, namely, that of proclaiming the truth of *creatio ex nihilo* and the sanctity of the day.

TEXT XVI

קצור ברכת המזון—SHORT GRACE AFTER MEALS

MS. fol. 131.

FRIDAY NIGHT

(נהוגין אנו לברך ברכת המזון בסעודה ראשונה בדרך קצרה בעיניין זה. להתחיל ולומר ברכת המזון עד כי לעולם חסדו)

אתא יום ענוגה, בלחם יומם להתענגה
כאמור פותח... ב'א'ה' הזן...
נודה לך... ברית ותורה וחיים ומזון
גורל שומרי שבת, דת וברית וארץ זבת
כאמור ואכלת... ב'א'ה' על הארץ...
נחמינו כולו, רצה והחליצינו כולו...
והושיענו מהרה למען שמך
הראינו בביניין בית מנוחה, ורוח עלינו נחה
כאמור בונה ירושלים י' י' נדחי ישראל יכנס
ב'א'ה' בונה ירושלים אמן.
(בחיינו. וגומר כל ברכת המזון)

Besides the regular text of the Grace after Meals, we find, on fol. 131, a short ברכת המזון for Friday night, which begins with אתא יום ענוגה. It is remarkable that the fourth benediction, known as ברכת הטוב והמטיב is not shortened, but, according to our author, should be recited in full; on the

other hand, the short ברכת המזון in *Kol Bo* does not mention הטוב והמטיב at all. For the sake of comparison, we also give the *Kol Bo* text:

בא"י אמ"ה הזן את העולם כלו ברוב גדלו
והמכין לכל בריות מאכלו ושלחנו ערוך לכל
בא"י הזן את הכל
נודה לאל גואלנו המעדיף מטובו עלינו
לא חסר כלום ממאכלנו ברית ותורה וחיים ומזון
בא"י על הארץ ועל המזון
רחם על עם עני ואביון הנתונים ללעג ולבזיון
ודוד עבדך מהרה תמליך בציון
ותכון בתוכה עם עמוסי ירכים
בא"י בונה ירושלים אמן
בחיי יהודה ואפרים תמליך מלך בירושלים
ותבט עניי עמך ותפן
בא"י אמ"ה בורא פרי הגפן
(כל בו כ"ו דיני ברכת המזון בקצרה)

TEXT XVII

תפלת עמידה למנחה של שבת—'AMIDAH FOR THE SABBATH-MINḤAH

MS. fol. 140.

(. . . פותח שליח צבור בתפלת הרבים ואומ' מגן מחיה, נקדישך, לדור ודור)
הנח לנו ה' אלקינו כי אתה אבינו ותמלוך עלינו מהרה כי אתה יוצרינו. בעבור שמך האל המלך הגדול הגיבור והנורא שנקרא על ישראל עמך ועל יום השביעי הזה הגדול והקדוש הזה. כי יום גדול וקדוש הוא מלפניך נשבות בו ונוח בו כמצות רצונך. ואל תהא צרה ויגון ביום מנוחתינו. תהא מנוחתינו מנוחת אהבה ונדבה, מנוחת שלום השקט ובטח. מנוחת אמת ורצון. מנוחת שלימה שאתה רוצה בה, יכירו וידעו בניך כי מאתך היא מנוחתם ועל מנוחתם יקדישו את שמך כרצונך. א'ו'א'. . .

This text for Sabbath Minḥah is to be recited after the ברכות הראשונות ג'. Comp. Seder Rab Amram cod. Sulzberger. This text is much older than אחה אחד.

TEXT XVIII

זמר של אליהו למוצאי שבת—ELIJAH-SONG

MS. fol. 147.

(אחר לר' ענן הכהן)

אליהו הנביא עד מתי אתה תאחר
ובן יקיר עיניו תולות ולביאתך הוא משחר
בוא במהרה, בוא במהרה, במהרה ואל תאחר
בוא יבוא, בוא יבוא, בוא יבוא ולא יאחר

עת לחשות ועת לדבר ועד מתי אתה תחריש
והאלף כבר עברו ועצמך תעשה כמחריש
והנחש הוא נושך ובצפעוני יפריש
בוא במהרה...
בוא יבוא...

נכבדות מדובר בך במוצאי יום נפשם
וגם בברית לך מתקנים מקום לשבת שם
ופניך למה תסתיר ולא תראה צרת נפשם
בוא במהרה...
בוא יבוא...

נין עמרמי בעת הלך וימאן ולא רצה
גואל אחרון אם אהיה אז אריץ במרוצה
ואף על פי שלא זכה לא מנע לגדור פירצה
בוא במהרה...
בוא יבוא...

הלא תזכור ביום עמודך על קבורת בשר החמור
ובא שואל ושאלך אימת קא אתי מור
תשובתך היתה לו היום אם תשמעו בקול צחר המור
בוא במהרה...
בוא יבוא...

כבן חיל אזור חלץ ותלך אל בן ישי
וספר לו מלוקים (מצוקים?) וקובלים לאל בחשיי
אולי ימהר ביאתו ויצילי מיד נושיי
בוא במהרה...
בוא יבוא...

הלא לצרפית כשולחתה הייתה לה למשענה
כד וצפיחית לא חסרו בעבור עוגה קטנה
ועל דיבור באתה אלי השיבותה רוח בנה
בוא במהרה...
בוא יבוא...

נץ עומרי בעת שלחו לבקר את בית יחיאל
על שביזה וגם הלעיג את רועה ישראל
טל ומטר מנעתה בלא מירת האל
בוא במהרה...
בוא יבוא...

חכמים ותלמידיהם המבינים בדת סודם
זאת הכל הם יודעים וגם מסורת בידם
כי הקץ לא יבוא על דיבור בשר ודם
בוא במהרה...
בוא יבוא...

קוויך בך שענים ובפיהם סדורה מילה
למה הוא מתרשל מלזעוק בחפילה
איפשר על פניעתו היתה מנעת גאולה
בוא במהרה...
בוא יבוא...

Rabbi Anan ha-Cohen, the author of the poem אליהו הנביא, is doubtless the same Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen from Siponto, who is mentioned in the תניא 76 and in the *Shibbale ha-Leket* 282 and 34. We can determine the time in which R. Anan lived, by the fact that a responsum about קרן של עז מהו לתקוע בו בראש השנה refers to both R. Anan and R. Kalonymus b. Sabbatai of Rome, who lived about 1030–1096. And since Rabenu Kalonymus was a prominent figure in the Jewish life and activities of his time (comp. among others Rashi, b. Bezah, 24b; *Or Zarua* II, 125b), we can assume that R. Anan, a young colleague of R. Kalonymus was also prominent and popular among the Jewish scholars of the 11th century.

We should like to point out here that next to Rome, Siponto was the greatest center of Jewish learning in Italy. We know that a number of young men of Siponto, in their devotion to Jewish scholarship, visited Hai Gaon's academy at Pumbeditha, and upon their return to Siponto spread Jewish learning in Italy. These young men later became famous as R. Leon b. Elḥanan, Menaḥem ha-Cohen, R. Jehuda, and a number of others (see: Gross, in *Magazin*, 34 II); still later we find Isaac b. Malkizedek and Elḥanan as the colleagues of R. Anan.

Unfortunately only two of R. Anan's decisions in Halakah have been preserved. His fellow countryman, Zidkiah b. Abraham (14th century), ascribes to R. Anan only one other Halakic decision (besides the one we have mentioned above) in regard to כנסת שכולה כהנים מצאתי שהורה ר' (ביתי?) ענן בר מרינוס הכהן זצ"ל מעיר סיפונטו. However, Zidkiah did not mention where he found the decision of R. Anan; it might have been a source of more information about our author.

According to Menaḥem di Lonzano, the Elijah songs recited on Saturday evenings were especially favored in Italy and Germany. R. Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, author of the *Or Zarua*, tells of a responsum by R. Joseph Tob Elem, who was greatly in favor of these Elijah poems (comp. also Tanya 21). Abraham b. Nathan Yarḥi (ha-Manhig, Sabbath 71) bases the custom of reciting the Elijah songs on Saturday evening, on the passage אין אליהו בא לא בערבי שבתות ולא בערבי יו"ט (b. Pesaḥim 13a and Erubin 43b), but, concludes Yarḥi, Elijah may appear on מוצאי שבת. This may be the reason why the Elijah songs were readily accepted and favored for Saturday evening recitation.

The expression in the second stanza of our text והאלף כבר עברו, may refer to the אלף שלש מאות שלשים וחמש of Daniel, 12, 12; however, it seems even more plausible that the author meant by the והאלף—one thousand years after the

destruction of the Temple. That the Italian scholars used to reckon the time according to the number of years after the destruction of the Temple, is evident also from the Megillat Aḥimaaz: ובאותו הזמן . . . מלך מלך על אדומים. . . חשב בלבו וזמם להזמים . . . בשנת שמונה מאות שנים . . . לחורבן המקדש בית זבולים. . . . מלך ושמו בסילי. . . This king, Basil I, lived in 867–886 Civil Era, which was 800 years after the destruction of the Temple. Thus, the Elijah song of our text must have been composed after 1070.

TEXT XIX

הבדלה—HABDALAH

MS. fol. 149.

ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה וששון ויקר, כוס ישועות אשא ובשם י"י אקרא שאו ידיכם קודש וברכו י"י, אנא ה' הושיעה נא, אנא ה' הצליחה נא, באלהים נעשה חיל והוא יבוס צרינו, בך צרינו ננגח ובשמך נבוס קמינו.

ב'א'ה'מ'ה' בורא פרי הגפן, . . . בורא עצי בשמים . . . בורא מאורי האש.

ב'א'ה' מלך העולם המבדיל בין קודש לחול בין אור לחשך, בין ישראל לגוים בין יום השביעי לששת ימי המעשה, וכתוב והייתם קדושים כי קדוש אני ואבדיל אתכם מן העמים להיות לי ב'א'ה' המבדיל בין קודש לחול.

The Habdalah in our text differs somewhat from the Italian version, and we thought it advisable to print it here.

Concerning the benediction בורא עצי בשמים, comp. chapter 2, in Part I of this book.

TEXT XX

שבת פרשה פרה—PARASHAT PARAH

MS. fol. 168.

פרה באומן

פרה	באומן אומץ אוסם אודם איבריה	אדומה תמימה
	לבחון בה ביאור צרה ברורה	אשר אין בה מום
פרה	בגודל גוית גזרת גלף גזוכיה	אד'. . .
	לדחות דופי דיבת דגולה דרושה	אש'. . .

פרה	בהוד הדרת הילך היטיב הזיותיה	אד'
	לוותך ולטהר ולקדש ולכבס וועודה	אש'
פרה	בזיו זוהר זבד זימון זמניה	אד'
	לחקור חוק חיטוי חט חומה	אש'
פרה	בטיכוס טוב טעם טוהר טלפיה	אד'
	לייפות יוקש ידידיה יחידה יפה	אש'
פרה	בכיוון כובד כומם כילול כלליה	אד'
	ללמד להלבין לכיחמי לקוחה לאום	אש'
פרה	במעשה מראית מופתי מקורי מיסיה	אד'
	לנקות נקש ניפתול נדת נבונה	אש'
פרה	בסילסול סוד סדר סימניה שערותיה	אד'
	לעבור על עון עקש עמוסה	אש'
פרה	בפילוש פרשת פילאי פיצחון פרטיה	אד'
	לצלול צואת ציבאות צאן צדק	אש'
פרה	בקושט קדושת קיבוע קוממיות קרניה	אד'
	לרחוץ רעל רוע רבבה	אש'
פרה	בשימור שיעור שתים שלוש שנותיה	אד'
	לתמם תוע תיתוע תעב תמה	אש'

As fate would have it, the names of R. Yannai and his disciple, Kalir, were closely connected not only in life, but also after their death. In life,—according to R. Ephraim of Bonn (comp. כרם חמד, VI, 25)—Yannai became jealous of Kalir, when Yannai's poems came to be considered unfashionable and antiquated, while Kalir's poetry became very popular; after both teacher and disciple had been called to eternity, students and scholars still ascribed many a Yannain poem to Kalir.

This last fact may partly be due to the Kalirian touch found in those poems, or to the popularity that they enjoyed, —a popularity not usually accorded to Yannai's poems.

Through R. Tam we know of two such poems that were erroneously ascribed to Kalir. One is a piyyut for Simḥat Torah, אומן אשר לא קם כמותו, and the other is פרה באומן, for Parashat Parah (comp. Shibbale ha-Leket, 28, and Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, 60).

The above text is the piyyut פרה באומן, and upon close examination of its style and contents, it appears to us, that פרה באומן is a piyyut composed by Yannai for the Sabbath פרשת פרה.

A marked characteristic of Yannai's style is his repetition of all 22 letters of the alphabet, from two to four times in each piyyut. As examples we can cite the following piyyutim: In the Maḥzor Yannai, page 2, in the Kerobah to איש או אשה קדמאה, the seventh section begins with the verses כי אמר אין אמונה אומין, כי בז ברית בער בליבו, etc. The אלף and the other letters of the alphabet are repeated four times. On page 17, in the Kerobah to וידבר דאיש איש כי יהיה, the seventh section reads הוא אנוש לכן יאנש, הוא בשר לכן יבלה, etc. In that piyyut each letter is used twice in each verse. In the eighth section of the same Kerobah which reads יתום תאל תחלואינו, ישלים שיעור שימורינו, etc., the alphabet is used three times. Also on page 24, the eighth section of the Kerobah to ויאמר דאמר אל הכהנים the alphabet is used three times: תקיף ותומך תמימים, שליט ושוכן שפלים etc. This manner of using the letters of the alphabet a few times in each verse seems to have been typical of many of Yannai's compositions. In פרה באומן the Aleph-Beth is even repeated five times throughout the piyyut. The general diction and character of the פרה באומן also bear a close resemblance to the other Yannaic compositions. We can, therefore, it seems to me, unhesitatingly ascribe this poem to Yannai. It must have formed a part of the Kerobah to פרשת פרה, and presumably the seventh or eighth part. It is interesting to note that Yannai, the author of our piyyut פרה באומן, uses here, as in many of his other compositions, both Halakah and Haggadah as the two sources for his poem. His handling of Halakah and Haggadah is masterful, and clearly demonstrates his extraordinary skill and resourcefulness

The first line represents the Halakah, and the second line the Haggadah element, etc.

I was glad that Doctor Israel Davidson, who has made a special study of Yannai's piyyutim (comp. his *Maḥzor Yannai*, New York, 1919), agreed with me in my opinion that the פרה באומן may be a Yannaic composition. Some years ago he wrote me: השערתך שהוא ליגאי מתקבלת על הלב. It is to be hoped that the other parts of the Kerobah to Parshat Parah may be found in the years to come.

TEXT XXI

תפלת טל—PRAYER FOR DEW

MS. fol. 220–221.

גבורות הטל דר' אלעזר בר' קליר

(טַל תן לרצות ארצך . . . נקדש את שמך בעולם . . . מלא כל הארץ כבודו)

כבודו א'ופן בכס מרכבות ל'החיות אטומים מטללי ארובות
ע'טויי שש אדורי שלהבת ז'מר מרבים ושירות עריבות
ר'גל ישרה שגלות ומסביבות ר'צים כבזק וחחרות ושבות
ואני(ו) בקץ טללי נדבות נאמר ברוך לעומתם בחיבובות

לעומתם ברוך יאמרו ברוך כבוד ה' ממקומו

ממקומו ב'רוך עונים שרפי הקודש י'ה בהינזר בגזר הקודש
ר'וחש ומשביע אופן הקודש ב'וטה ומפריש פירוש הקודש
י'ושב במקומו חג הקודש יתיצב במצבו במקום הקודש
ואני(ו) ביום מקרא קודש נייחדו פעמים במקדש הקודש

פעמים באהבה שמע אומרים

אחד ק'דוש מסלד בחילה וקדושה ל'פלמוני המדבר שואל בלחישה
י'אמר איה מקום הקדושה ר'וצה בזמר ונערץ בקדושה
ח'ונים מסביבות הכסא להקדישה ז'ה לזה ק'וראים בקדושה
ואנו פה נועדים להאמירו בקדושה להיות לו לעם והוא לנו
לאלקים שמו לקדשה להיות לכם אני ה' אלקיכם

אלקינו מ'הולל בפי כל יצורים ק'ושב טיף אביב נוצרים
ר'וצה פגיעת אמונים ננצרים י'וצר טרף טרם יצירים
(ת'בל? חבל ממטר ומזליח אורים ש'וחחים באמת מקשיב עתרים
פ'ונה להצדיק כל היצורים ר'צים בצילו חייבים וכשרים
ת'ומך למענו מ'עוקלים וישרים יקבלם בשובם כחסידים גמורים

מוריד אגלים מעליות אווירים מצמיח חצרי גבעות הרים
בכן יתהללו לדורי דורים וימלוך לעולמי עד כדברי קודש
מדוברים

ובדברי קדשך . . . ימלוך ה' לעולם

נ'בקש ט'ל יבושרו בו אבות י'לדותו לילדימו בטל להרבות טל
כ'ברת הר ו ע ר ב ו ת ל'לא צמאו בחרבות
עבב נקדש באלפי רבבות

ברוך אתה ה' האל הקדוש

אתה בחרתנו. ומפני חטאינו. והשיאנו. ברוך
אתה ה' מקדש ישראל והזמנים

ושחקים מ'זילים טללי שמים נ'ובב (או סובב) שתילי פלגי מים
ס'עד ארוחת ימים ע'רוך למתמידי פעמים
ז'בחי רצון ליום שנים

ברוך אתה ה' שאותך. מודים

ירעפ'ו טל ביום חיליך צ'יקת עב טל לחייליך
ק'ווצות תלתליך ר'סס לפירחי הילוליך
רוננים ברדת טל בטוב לב להלליך

ברוך אתה ה' הטוב שמך
אלקינו. ברכינו.

טל שאלתי באומר נוכח יוצר חומר
ש'ווע ערכתי בהלל חמר להקדים טל לקצירת העומר
טל ת'רופה לרעננים תזיל לתהומות מעננים
ת'טליל למתחננים תעצים שלום עוד לעם בברכת טל
מרננים

Among the many Kalirian piyyutim that fell into desuetude and were later entirely forgotten, we may also include the piyyut גבורות הטל, a prayer for dew, which is found in the SḤB, fol. 220–221. An easily discovered acrostic in the first three stanzas of the piyyut forms the name אלעזר בירבי קליר and חזק. In these stanzas the ר׳ of אלעזר and the י׳ of בירבי are used twice; חזק is added to form the third line of the last stanza; and the fourth lines in the three stanzas introduce the verses of the קדושה with ואני . . . (in the first stanza); ואני . . . (in the 2nd); and ואנו . . . (in the 3rd), which, I believe, should read ואנו in all three stanzas.

In the fourth stanza, in the first word of each line, I discovered the acrostic מקרית ספר ת״מ, in the words ש׳וחחים מ׳הולל ק׳ושב ר׳וצה י׳וצר ת׳בל (instead of חבל) פ׳ונה ר׳צים. I marked the letters forming the acrostic in the above text.

In the last line of the fourth stanza, תומך למעונו מעוקלים וישרים, the ת׳ of תומך and the מ׳ of מעוקלים are marked with dots, and these two letters may stand for חבנה מהרה. If this assumption be correct, then it serves to strengthen the opinion that Kalir was of Palestinian origin, and consequently prayed in his גבורות הטל (a piyyut especially devoted to Palestine) for the rebuilding of the land.

In building our acrostic מקרית ספר, we are not surprised to find the ש׳ of שוחחים replacing a ס׳. The Palestinians quite often substituted a ש for a ס in their alphabetic piyyutim (comp. שמחים בצאתם in אל אדון, where a ש is used instead of a ס; and also the short Palestinian ‘Amidot in our MS.).

Following Kalir’s practice of using the alphabet after the acrostic, we find a set of letters beginning in the second verse of the fourth stanza with אביב, and running through the rest of the piyyut (as I have indicated in the above text). Some of the letters of the alphabet are used twice, which is quite customary with Kalir.

TEXT XXII

הסיום של האזהרות לרס"ג.—THE LAST PART OF SAADIA GAON'S AZHAROT

MS. fol. 258.

ס"פן שש מאות ושלש עשרה מצוות האגדים
ע"ל יד רועה ניתנו ביום קולות ולפידים
י"שרים ומשפטים צדיקים מזהב נחמדים
קימו וקיבלו היהודים
ד"בורים על אופניהם כל אחד על יישובו
פ"נים שוחקות כתב ועל פה איש איש במצבו
י"דידים קיבלו ספר גבר על ידי ערבו
לשמור ולעשות ככל הכתוב פה
וו"עדו כולם בלב ש(ל?)ם בלי להזיד ולאמול
מ"תן מדבר לקבל עירול לב לימול
י"רושה ביום זה בני זקן הנימול
לבלתי סור מן המצוה ימין ושמאל
ח"סד נעורים זכור לעם מאלהיו לא אלמן
ז"כור טייול משיכת דרכיך במקום פת(מ?)ן וחורמן
ק"רוא מקרא קודש בעירך בזה יום וזמן
א'מ'ן' לשנה הבאה בזמירת מלך רחמן

The last part of Saadia Gaon's Azharot, an extensive halakic poem treating the 613 precepts, is fortunately preserved in our Seder Ḥibbur Berakot. This text is important, since it helps us to determine the place where the Azharot were composed.

Rapoport, in הצופה להמגיד VI (1862), assumes that the Azharot were written by Saadia during the time when he held the position of an "Alluf" at the Sura Academy. This assumption is based on the following facts: considering, as we do, that the פתיחה, printed by Rosenberg in his קובץ מעשה ידי גאונים קדמונים, pp. 26–29, is the preface to Saadia's Azharot rather than to his מצות תרי"ג, (comp. Malter's *Saadia Gaon*, p. 330, 2), Rapoport finds that the first line of the פתיחה, reading אצל יום הלזה מימים ימימה, has the same numerical value, 469, as the words סעיד בן יוסף אלוף. Consequently, Saadia must have written the Azharot while he was an Alluf at Sura.

However, while ingenious, this arithmetical device is not effective in this case. First, we note that the tenth section of the Azharot contains an acrostic forming the name סעיד בן יוסף, without אלוף. Then also, we find in our text, which is the conclusion to the Azharot—the acrostic סעיד פיומי חזק אמן. This, to my mind, amply proves that the Azharot were written in Fayyum, Egypt, where Saadia lived and worked before his migration to Sura. According to the new date of his birth, brought to light by Doctor Jacob Mann, Saadia must have left Fayyum between the years 905–911 (see Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, p. 425, postscript).

The double acrostic, סעיד בן יוסף and סעיד פיומי חזק אמן, should not surprise us, since we know that the value of the acrostics was so great for the Payyetanim, that they often repeated these acrostics in the same piyyut. To assume, however, that being already "Alluf" in Sura, Saadia still signed himself סעיד פיומי, would be unreasonable. The numerical value of the first line of the פתיחה must be given up, therefore, for the acrostic סעיד פיומי חזק אמן, unless we assume that the פתיחה was written in Sura, after the Azharot had already been composed in Fayyum.

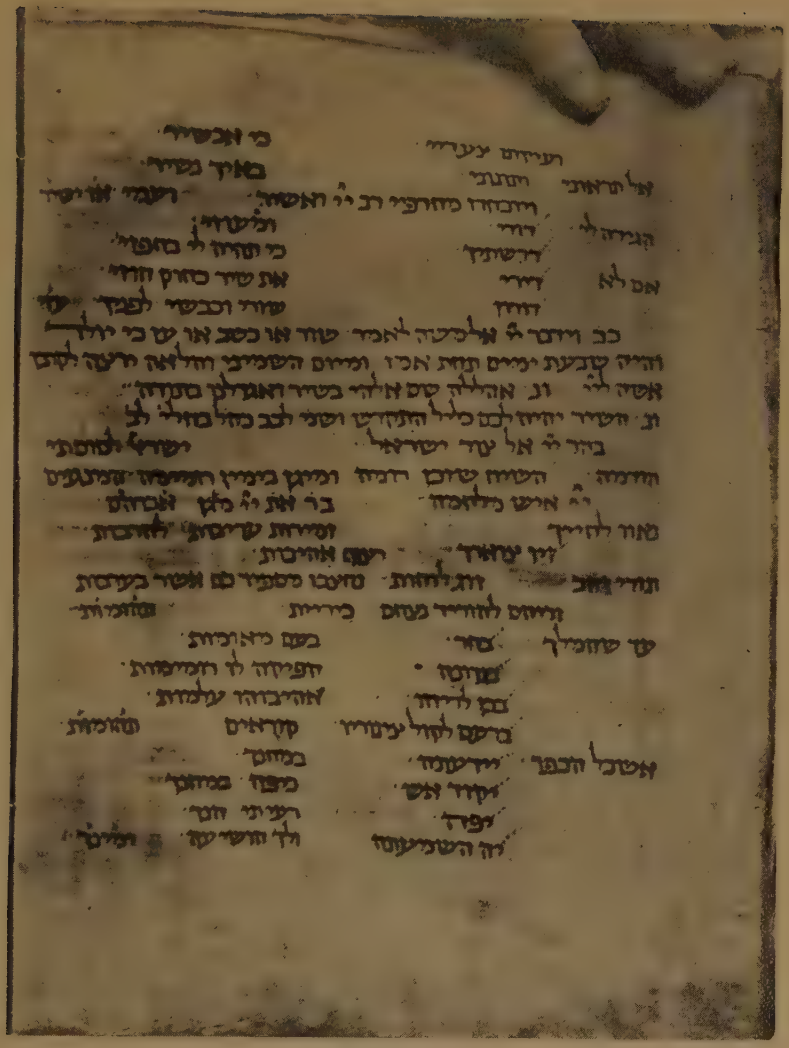
FOUR FACSIMILES OF FOLIOS OF THE ORIGINAL MS. SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT:

PIYYUTIM FOR SABBATH

AND

ḤOL-HAMOED PESAḤ

These are photographs of the only facsimiles of our MS. in existence. They were made for the late Doctor Solomon Schechter ז"ל



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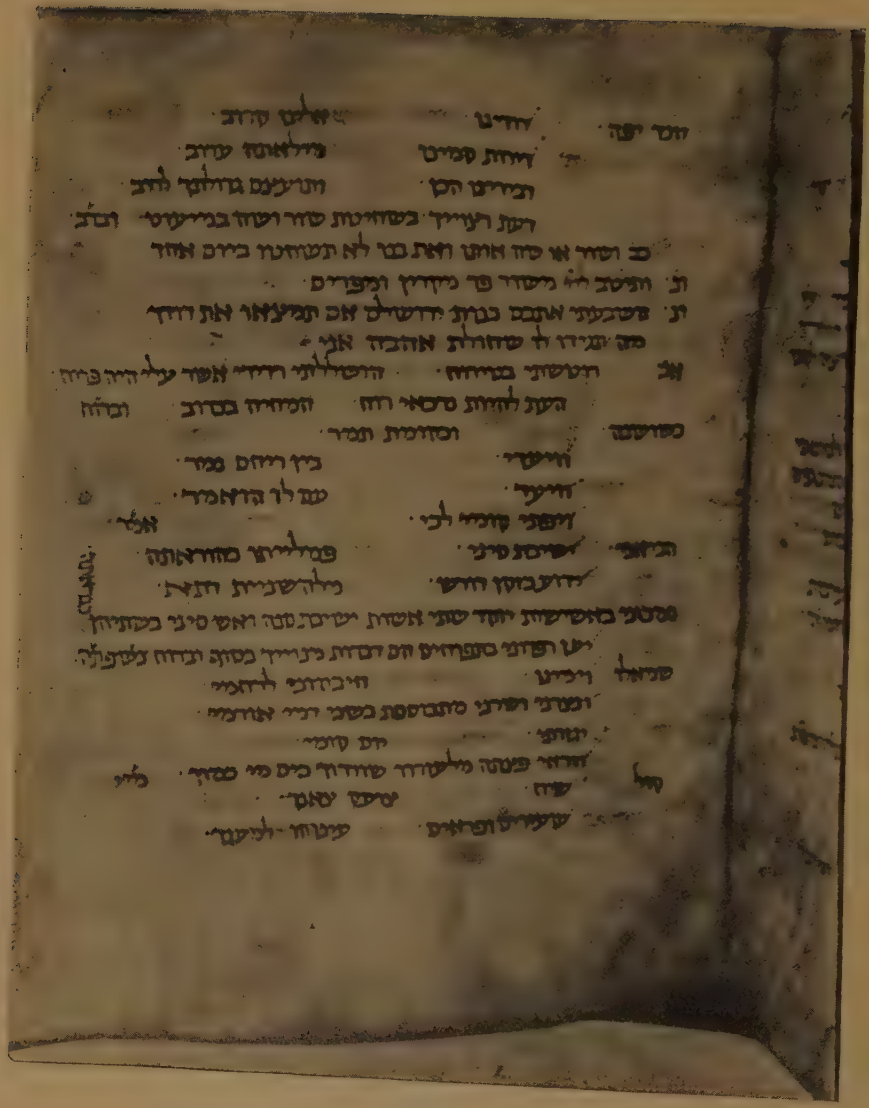

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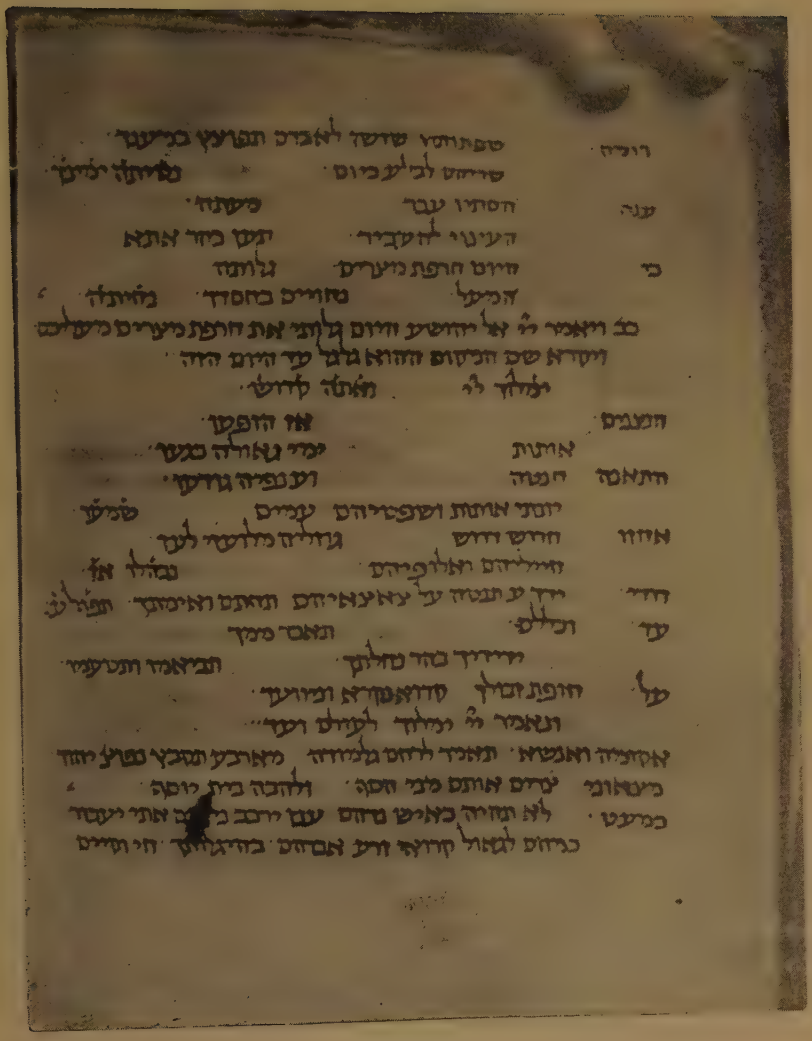

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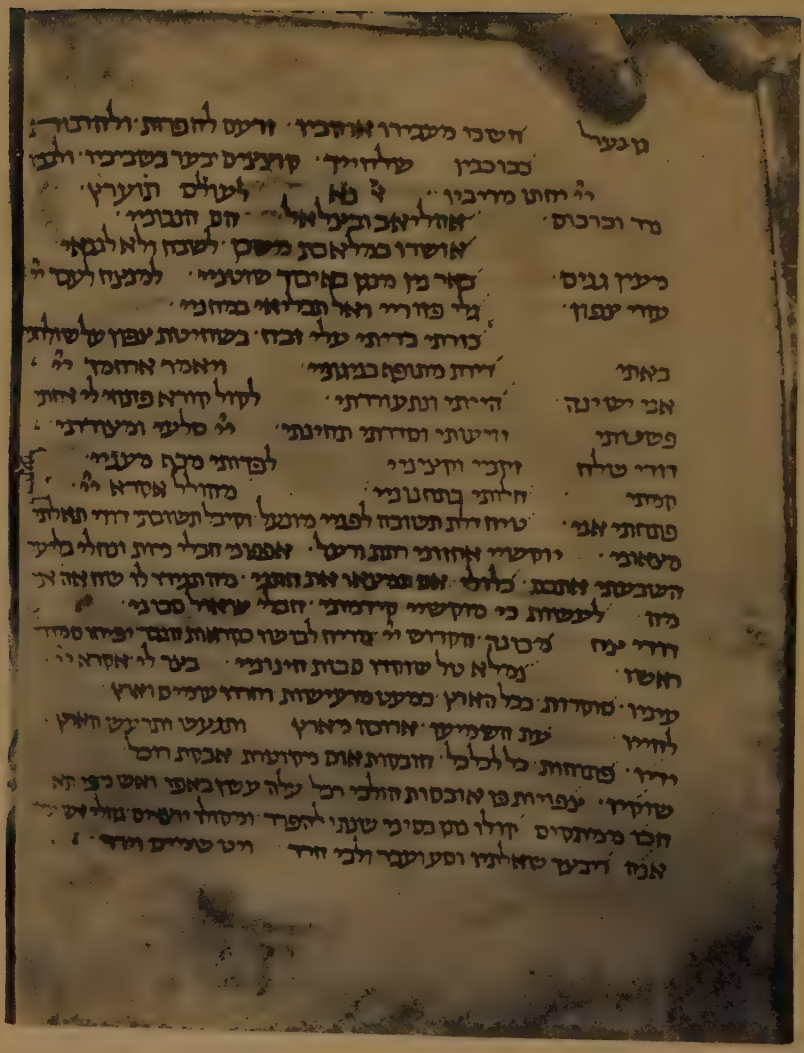

Facsimile IV

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

b. = Babylonian
Cant. R. = Canticum Rabbah (Midrash Shir ha-Shirim)
Gottesd. Vortr. = Zunz, Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden
HB. = Hebräische Bibliographie
JQR. = Jewish Quarterly Review
Koh. R. = Koheleth Rabbah
p. = Palestinian
Pal. = Palestinian
REJ. = Revue des Etudes Juives
RH. = Rosh ha-Shanah
SA. = Seder Amram Gaon
Sanh. = Sanhedrin
SḤB. = Seder Ḥibbur Berakot
Sh. ha-L. = Shibbale ha-Leket
SRA. = Seder Rab Amram
Yer. = Yerushalmi
ZHB. = Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie
ZWT. = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF TEXTS PRINTED IN THIS BOOK

אדון לפעלך 97
אהללה ללובש עוז 102
אופן בכס מרכבות 121
אחינו ישראל 87
אלהי נשמה 88
אליהו הנביא עד מתי 115
אנא אלקינו אזון 98
אני אריב את ריבך 101
את שבת קודשך 109
אתא יום ענוגה 113
ברכות השחר 88
ברכת המזון 92
ברכת התורה 87
הבדלה 118
הבינינו 91
הנח לנו 114
וענוים אהובך 100
זה אחה אלקי 99
יקום פורקן 70
ישתבח 84–85
מי שבירך 87
נשכבה בחסדך 105
ספן שש מאות 124
פיקודיך שומרים 100
פרה באומן 118
ק"ש על המיטה 106
שמונה עשרה 85–86

INDEX

INDEX

(Numbers followed by 'n' refer to the notes on the pages specified)

Aaron the Priest, of Lunel, 51.
Abaye, Amora, 41, 43, 45, 46.
Abot de Rabbi Nathan, 88.
Abraham b. Daud, 29n, 33.
Abraham b. David, of Pousquieres, 33.
Abraham b. Isaac, of Narbonne, 5n.
Abraham b. Jacob, 8, 84.
Abraham b. Jeḥiel, 74.
Abraham b. Nathan Yarḥi, of Lunel, 5n. 117.
Abraham, of Pesaro, 30.
Abu Aaron, 32, 33.
Abudraham, David, 5, 56, 108.
Abuhu, Amora, 36.
Adler, Cyrus, vi.
Africa, 22. 40.
Agudah, 38n.
Aḥa b. Jacob, 91, 111.
Aḥa Gaon, 20, 25.
Aḥimaaz b. Paltiel, 21, 30, 118.
Akiba, Tanna, 40, 91.
Albargeloni, see Judah b. Barzillai Albargeloni.
Alfasi, Isaac, 20, 23.
'Amidah, v, 1, 34, 38, 46, 66–69, 71, 85, 91, 92, 95–105, 110, 111, 114, 123.
Amnon, 73n.
Amram Gaon, 5, 10, 13, 42, 47, 51, 52, 57, 63, 68; Seder of, 4, 5, 9–13, 41, 42, 49, 51, 54–56, 58–61, 63, 66–68, 92, 105, 108, 111, 114.
Anan b. Marinus ha-Cohen, of Siponto, 14, 29, 72, 116, 117.
Appamia, 43, 46.
Apulia, 14.
Arabian Regime, 31.
Aruk, 14, 30, 77.
Asaph, S., 32.
Ascholi, 30n.
Asher b. Jeḥiel, 34n, 46–49, 56, 108.
Ashi, Amora, 47.
Aspamia, 42–46.
Auerbach, B. H., 7n.
Avira, Amora, 36.
Azharot, 124, 125.

Babylon, 22, 31–33, 37–42, 44–46, 50, 59, 63–65, 68–70, 103; Rabbis of, 22, 24, 31; Ritual of, 2, 3, 41, 49–51, 57–60, 64, 65, 85; Synagogues of, 51, 54, 55, 59, 60, 65; Talmud of, 20, 23, 51, 64, 92.
Babylonian-Spanish Ritual, 60, 94.
Bacharach, Ḥayyim, 76.
Baer, S., 62.
Baetica, 45.
Bari, 29, 29n, 30.
Basil I, King, 118.
Bebe, Amora, 42–44.
Ben Meir, 25, 69.
Berekiah, Amora, 62.
Berliner, Abraham, 1, 9–13, 76n.
Bloch, Ph., 65, 66.
Bondi, J., 54n.
Brüll, N., 26.
Buber, Solomon, 5n, 15, 17–19, 28n, 78, 79, 88.
Büchler, A., 23, 37.

Caeserea, 36.
Cartara, 43, 46.
Charles, King, 55.
Cordova, 43.
Coronel, Naḥman Nathan, 10, 49, 55n, 57n.
Cortova, 42–46.

Daniel b. Jeḥiel, 6, 14.
Davidson, Israel, vi, 2, 72n, 121.
Donolo, Sabbatai, 21, 33, 73n.

Dropsie College, vi, 85.
Dukes, L. 13.

Eben Boḥan, 13, 78, 79.
Egypt, 38–40, 65, 125.
Elbogen, I., v, 7, 7n, 56n, 57n, 58n, 62, 66, 68, 85.
Eleazar b. Judah b. Kalonymus, 56.
Eleazar, of Metz, 19, 20.
Eleazar, of Verona, 30.
Elḥanan, 117.
Elijah, Gaon of Wilna, 64.
Elijah Song, 72, 115–118.
Elviria, 41.
Eppenstein, S., 22, 25, 28, 28n, 33.
Ephraim, of Bonn, 119.
Epstein, A., 32.
Eshkol, 5, 7, 23, 59, 104.
Essenes, 66, 66n.
Europe, 38.
Exilarch, 38, 44, 45.

Finkelstein, Louis, 83.
Fayyum, 125.
France, 3, 13, 17, 29, 30, 36, 37, 40, 54, 55, 87; Ritual of, 55, 61, 67, 69.
Freimann, A., 13.
Frumkin, L., 111.
Funck, S., 43.

Gaonate, 37, 39, 43, 46, 70.
Gaster, Moses, 42, 49.
Gayyat, Isaac, 47, 48, 60.
Genizah Fragments, v, 7, 42n, 51, 55–58, 61, 66, 67, 84, 94, 108, 110.
Geonim, 22, 23, 28, 33, 37, 41, 43, 46–48, 52, 63, 67, 71, 112.
Germany, 3, 17, 37, 40, 41, 49, 50, 54–58, 65, 87, 117; Ritual of, 41, 42, 55–57, 60, 61, 69, 70.
Gershom Meor ha-Golah, 29.
Ginzberg, L., 23n, 24, 55n, 56, 66, 69, 108, 109.
Grace After Meals, 72, 92–94, 113, 114.
Greece, 32, 40.
Grossberg, Manasseh, 19.
Güdemann, M., 28, 77.

Habdalah Song, 72.
Hai Gaon, 23, 31, 32, 34–37, 39, 47, 108, 117.
Halakot Gedolot, 20, 31, 32.
Hallel, 52, 53.
Ha-Maor, 16, 48, 51.
Hamnuna, Amora, 62, 88.
Ḥananel b. Amnon, 73.
Ḥananel b. Ḥushiel, 20, 23, 33, 38n, 94.
Hanoch, 47, 50.
Harkavy, A., 26, 36.
Harnack, A., 41.
Ḥawot Jair, 77.
Ḥayyug, Judah b. David, 77.
Hekalot, 67.
Huna III, Mar, Exilarch, 46.
Hurwitz, S., 5n, 38n.
Ḥushiel, 33.

Ifra Hormizd, 44.
Isaac b. Malkizedek, 117.
Isaac b. Meir, of Dueren, 32.
Isaac b. Moses, of Vienna, 117.
Isaac, the Exilarch, 42–46.
Isaiah di Trani, 35, 36.
Italy, 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 13, 21, 22, 26–33, 35–40, 50, 54, 55, 57, 61, 65, 73n, 87, 104, 117; Jews of, 2, 3, 28, 32, 33, 35, 87; Maḥzor of, see Rome, Maḥzor of; Rabbis of, 23, 28, 31, 53, 54, 79; Ritual of, 3, 4, 14, 22, 50, 51, 55, 58–61, 63, 64, 67, 69–71, 84, 85.

Jabneh, 59, 107.
Jacob b. Asher, 51, 90.
Jacob b. Meir Tam, 4, 18, 29, 29n, 30, 36, 37, 40n, 72, 119.
Jacob b. Nissim, 36.
Jacob b. Yakar, 19.
Jacob Resh Metibta de Mata Romi, 38n.
Jeḥiel b. Abraham, 38n.

Jeḥiel b. Jekuthiel b. Benjamin ha-Rofe, 28.
Jehudah, the Pious, 76.
Jehudai Gaon, 24, 31, 32.
Jerusalem, 24, 25, 52.
Jewish Theological Seminary, 83.
Joḥanan, Amora, 61, 62, 88, 104.
Joḥanan b. Zakkai, Tanna, 16, 17.
Jose b. Abun, 111.
Joseph b. Samuel Tob Elem, 8, 117.
Joseph, Mar, 42.
Josephus, 66, 66n.
Joshua b. Ḥananiah, Tanna, 103.
Joshua b. Levi, 27, 57.
Judah, Amora, 62.
Judah b. Barzillai Albargeloni, 38n, 43–45, 54, 60, 61, 87.

Kaddish, 14, 15, 63n.
Kairawan, 36.
Kalir, Eleazar, 20, 26, 29, 58, 74, 119, 123.
Kalonymus, 27, 29, 38n, 72.
Kalonymus b. Sabbatai, of Rome, 116.
Kaufmann, D., 21, 30, 30n.
Kedushah, v, 14, 23, 24, 65–69.
Kerobot, v, 7, 29, 58, 71–74, 99–103, 105, 120.
Kiddush, 111–113; Lebanah, 19.
Klausner, A., 51.
Kohut, A., 38n.
Kol Bo, 114.

Landshut, L., 29n, 62.
Latif, Samuel, 63.
Leon b. Elḥanan, 117.
Levi, Amora, 62.
Levi, Israel, 105.
Lucca, 27, 29, 38n, 55.
Lucena, 42, 89.
Luria, S., 28, 51, 63.
Luzzatto, S. D., 8, 63, 71.

Maḥzor Rome, see Rome, Maḥzor of.
Maḥzor Vitry, 5, 11, 38n, 52, 59, 86.
Maimonides, 19, 23, 39, 65, 90.
Makria, 23.
Malter, H., 124, 125.
Manḥig, 5, 36, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61.
Mann, Jacob, 83, 84, 104, 108, 110, 111, 112, 125.
Marx, A., vi, 6, 11, 37, 83.
Masorah, 26.
Masseket Soferim, 25, 51, 63, 67, 78, 87.
Mathya b. Ḥarash, Tanna, 27.
Mayence, 55, 75.
Megillat Aḥimaaz, see Aḥimaaz.
Megillat Ebiathar, 37.
Meir, Tanna, 11, 89, 91.
Meir, of Rothenburg, 18.
Menaḥem b. Benjamin b. Menaḥem, 28.
Menaḥem b. Saruk, 77.
Menaḥem ha-Cohen, 117.
Merkabah, see Yorde Merkabah.
Meshullam b. Kalonymus, 5, 27, 29, 33, 38n.
Metatron, 67, 74, 78.
Midrash Sekel Tob, 2, 13, 15, 17–21.
Mohammedan Regime, 46.
Mollin, Joseph, 75.
Mordecai b. Hillel, 30.
Moses b. Kalonymus, of Lucca, 29, 55.
Moses Ḥalfi, 29.
Moses, of Pavia, 30, 38n.
Müller, J., 22, 25, 34n, 51, 63, 64, 75.

Naḥmanides, 47, 49.
Naḥum, Payyetan, 9.
Naples, 29.
Nathan b. Ephraim, 30.
Nathan b. Jeḥiel, 14, 30, 38n, 74, 77, 78.
Nathan b. Zidkiah, 14.
Natronai b. Hilai Gaon, 42, 47, 51, 52, 54, 56, 59, 89; Seder of, 51.
Naumburg, J., 64.

Neubauer, A., 30n, 31.
Nissim b. Reuben, 16, 23.

Omer, 16–18.
Ophan, 9, 68, 74, 75.
Oran, 30.
Or Zarua, 32, 38n, 116, 117.
Otranto, 29, 30.

Palestine, v, 4, 7, 17, 22, 23, 25–28, 33, 36–39, 41, 42, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 57–61, 63–66, 70, 103, 104, 106; Jews of, 2, 3, 22, 26, 57, 65; Rabbis of, 3, 22, 24, 27, 59, 70; Ritual of, v, 2, 3, 41, 50–65, 85, 94; Talmud of, 2, 20, 22, 23, 52, 53, 63, 64, 68, 69, 90, 107.
Palestinian-Italian Ritual, 64.
Paltiel, 14.
Paltoi Gaon, 22.
Paris, 54.
Parḥi, Estori, 51.
Pasinus, 8.
Persia, 44, 112; Court of, 44, 45; Jews in, 44, 45; Nationalistic Policy of, 44.
Pesuke de Zimrah, 52, 54.
Peyron, Bernhard, 1, 4, 9, 11.
Phinehas, Masorite, 26.
Pinsker, S., 75n.
Pirke de R. Eliezer, 58.
Piyyutim, v, 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 14, 26, 29, 50, 60, 61, 67, 71, 72, 75, 84, 103, 119–125.
Poland, 57.
Polia, 29.
Pool, David de Sola, 63n.
Portugal, 40.
Poznanski, S., 25, 36, 38n, 65n.
Prayer Manuals, 2, 22, 41, 53, 55, 61, 65, 89–91.
Provence, 54, 55; Ritual of, 61.
Pumbeditha, 3, 4, 22, 42n, 117.

Rab, Amora, 7, 9, 62, 65, 103.
Raba, Amora, 41, 43–46, 57.
Rabina, Amora, 36.
Rapoport, S. J. L., 29, 34n, 36, 41, 43, 46, 51, 58n, 61, 61n, 62n, 66, 70, 71, 124.
Rashi, 14, 19, 30, 38n, 59–62, 112; Siddur of, 4, 11.
Romania, Maḥzor of, 9.
Rome, 3, 26–28, 30, 33, 37, 40, 52, 117; Maḥzor of, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19, 57, 63, 71, 84; Rule of, 44, 45, 91, 112.
Rosenberg, J., 124.

Saadia Gaon, 25, 55, 56, 60, 65, 66, 67, 94, 124, 125; Siddur of, 51, 54, 56, 59, 60, 61.
Sabbatai, 38n.
Sabbatai Sofer, 76.
Sachs, S., 38n.
Samuel, Amora, 9, 62, 62n.
Samuel b. Hophni, 39.
Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), 60.
Samuel b. Shalom, 75.
Samuel ha-Levi, 47.
Samuel Hanagid, 43–45.
Samuel of Bari, 29, 30.
Sandalphon, 66.
Sar Shalom Gaon, 32.
Sassanian Rule, 44.
Schechter, Solomon, 1, 4, 6–9, 11, 14, 33, 37, 51, 58n, 105.
Schorr, Jacob, 44, 46, 112.
Seder Meah Berakot, 42.
Sefer ha-Ittim, 38n, 43, 54, 60.
Sefer ha-Kabbalah, 29n.
Sefer ha-Yashar, 4n, 29n, 30, 38n, 40n.
Sefer Yezirah, 38n, 44.
Sefirah, 16, 17.
Seliḥot, 6, 8, 60.
Semag, 38n.
Sephardim, 62n.
Sephardic Ritual, see Spain, Ritual of.
Shaare Dura, 32.
Shaare Teshubah, 23, 108.
Shaare Zedek, 22.
Shapur II, King, 44, 45.
Shema, 23, 24, 55, 61, 85, 106–108.
Shemaiah, of Soissons, 55.

Shemone Esreh, 58, 59, 66, 72, 73.
Sherira Gaon, 23, 39, 47.
Shesha, 29.
Shibbale ha-Leket, 11, 14–16, 29, 29n, 30, 35, 61, 116, 119.
Shirat ha-Yam, 52–55.
Silluk, 9.
Simon b. Shetaḥ, 27.
Siponto, 117.
Solomon b. Aderet, 108.
Spain, 22, 29n, 40–42, 42n, 43–46, 48–50, 52, 54–56; Jews of, 58, 61; Ritual of, 40–42, 49–51, 58, 60, 61, 63, 63n, 67, 69, 70.
Steinschneider, M., 21.
Sura, 3, 4, 10, 22, 32, 124, 125.
Switzerland, 2.
Syria, 43.

Tam, see Jacob b. Meir Tam.
Tanna de-be-Elijahu, 28, 62.
Tarraconensis, 45.
Taylor-Schechter, 57.
Teḥinnah, 8.
Tekiot, 33.
Temim Deim, 33, 34n, 36.
Temple, 3, 16, 17, 26, 27, 79, 118.
Teshubot ha-Geonim, 23.
Tiberias, 26.
Todos, of Rome, 27.
Treves, Hirtz, 55.
Treves, Joḥanan, 16, 71.
Trisagion, 67.
Turin, 1, 4, 8–10, 13.

Ukban III, Mar, Exilarch, 46.

Venice, 28.
Venosa, 30, 30n, 31.
Vogelstein-Rieger, 38n.

Yannai, 26, 29, 73, 75, 119–121; Maḥzor of, 73n, 77, 120, 121.
Yemenites, 62n, 88.
Yorde Merkabah, 67, 68.
Yoẓer, v, 6, 9, 29, 65–69, 72.

Zeraḥiah ha-Levi, 16, 48, 51.
Zidkiah b. Abraham Anaw, 14, 15, 117.
Zulat, 72, 74.
Zunz, L., 1, 2, 3, 6–9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 28n, 29n, 55n, 62, 63n, 72, 74, 75, 119.
Zurich, 2.

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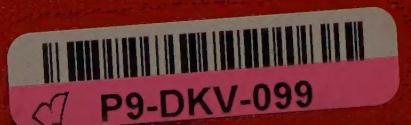
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